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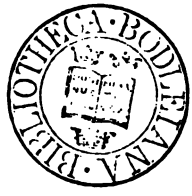
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PREFACE.

THE present Work in its original form obtained the Maitland Prize for the year 1861, when the following subject was proposed: "The several efforts made during the Middle Ages to propagate the Gospel, considered with reference to the external and internal condition of the Christian Church at the time."

In deference to the wishes of the Examiners the publication of the work has been postponed somewhat beyond the usual period, in order that the numerous references might be verified and expanded.

This I have endeavoured to do to the best of my power, amidst many other and more pressing duties, and have taken the opportunity also of amplifying details, especially in the xvith and xviith Chapters, which I was originally prevented by a severe illness from presenting otherwise than in a meagre outline.

The quotations which occur from time to time in the notes, I have given, as far as possible, from the original authorities, and I trust I have carefully acknowledged my obligations to others, where I have been unable to consult the originals.

Although I cannot claim to have recorded many facts in these pages that may not be found in the larger Ecclesiastical Histories, yet I am not aware of any work, in the English language, in which the various efforts made during the Middle Ages to propagate the Gospel are grouped together and presented at one view.

The Mediæval period, indeed, has been but little represented in modern accounts of Christian missions, and yet it was fertile in noble and heroic men, who laid, always in self-denial and self-sacrifice, sometimes in martyrdom and blood, the foundations of many of the Churches of modern Europe. The age to which they belonged was not the age of the nineteenth century; their thoughts were not our thoughts, nor their ways our ways; but while there is much to blame, there is much to admire in their operations; and the modern missionary in our numerous Colonial Dioceses will perhaps see a reflection of his own trials and difficulties, of his own hopes and aspirations, in the life and labours of the founder of the far-famed monastery of Iona, of the monk of Nutescelle, of the Apostle of Denmark, or the enthusiastic Raymund Lull.

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INTRODUCTION.

'Ομοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ζύμῃ.
S. MATT. xiii. 33.

'o occasions in the recorded history of the Apostle we behold him brought into contact with pure bar- 1. The first[1] is that familiar one, when having been i from the great towns of central Asia Minor, he had npany with Barnabas, penetrated into the region of a and Derbe. The district here indicated was, as is 1 to all, inhabited by a rude population, amongst the civilization of imperial Rome had scarcely pene- . The natives of these two little towns situated t the bare and barren steppes of Lycaonia, spoke a t of their own, and were addicted to a rude and tive superstition. Theirs was not the philosophical of the educated classes at Rome or Athens. It was uperstition of simple pagan villagers on whom the h synagogue had produced little or no impression.

nder such circumstances, it is interesting to notice he Christian message found an access to their hearts. usly the great Apostle could appeal neither to pro- es from their own Scriptures, as in the synagogues tioch and Iconium, nor to certain sayings of their oets, as on Mars' Hill. But the Providence of God ied a vehicle of communication.

mongst the groups which had gathered round the le, and whom he was addressing with his wonted tness and zeal, was a man who had been a cripple

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Apostolic contact with pure barbarism.

St Paul at (i) Lystra.

[1] Acts xiv. 6.

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from his birth. Perceiving that he had faith to be healed, the Apostle bade him rise up and walk. Power accompanied the spoken word: he stood upright on his feet and was made whole. Such a cure, of such a man, in such a manner, could not fail to arouse astonishment and awaken interest. The news soon spread through the place, and the inhabitants not unmindful, it may be, of the well-known traditions of the neighbourhood, rushed to the conclusion that supernatural powers were present among them, that their tutelary deities had come down in the likeness of men. What followed is a familiar tale. Bringing oxen and garlands to the temple before the town-gates, they would have offered sacrifice to the marvellous strangers, had they not been prevented by the Apostles, who straightway began to implore them to turn away from their dumb idols, and to serve the true God, the Creator of all things. But the impression made was on the surface only, and soon passed away. The inveterate enemies of the Apostles arrived, and persuaded the people that they were only the victims of diabolical magic, and the effect was instantaneous. The men, whom a moment before they had been on the point of worshipping, were driven ignominiously from the place.

(ii) *Malta.*

On the second occasion[1] the scene shifts to the island of Malta. The morning after the shipwreck has just begun to break, and St Paul, now a prisoner bound for Rome, has reached the shore with his companions. Here, too, the people he encountered were of a rude and simple character. But they showed no little kindness towards the drenched and shivering crew, and, as they kindled the welcome fire upon the sea-beach, the interest of the narrative again centres round the Apostle. Foremost, as always, in seeking the general good he was actively engaged in gathering sticks for the fire, when a viper sprung from the heap and fastened on his hand. The first thought of

[1] Acts xxviii. 1.

the islanders, as they beheld the venomous creature, was that the Apostle was without doubt a murderer, who, though he had escaped the sea, could not escape the divine Nemesis. But he had no sooner shaken off the creature, and felt no harm, than they regarded him as a god; nor was their belief in his exalted character likely to be weakened by what subsequently took place—the cure of the father of the governor of the island, and of many others afflicted with divers maladies.

Its chief features.

These two instances of the earliest meeting of the Apostle Paul with simple paganism are deserving of more than a passing glance. They serve to introduce us to the consideration of the missionary efforts of the Mediæval Church, which also had to deal with rude and simple paganism. Much that we observe here we shall observe again and again; features, incidents, traits of character will repeat themselves. Wherever we go we shall find that, as in those little villages amidst the dreary regions of Lycaonia, and that little island of the Mediterranean, men have never been able to exist without some form of religion; that, however degraded, they have never got rid of the conviction, that beyond and above the powers of nature there is One who visits the earth, interposes in the affairs of men, and has in some mysterious way connected inextricably guilt and retribution, sin and pain. They may entertain very indistinct, very contradictory notions on these points, but in some form or other we shall find them lying at the bottom of their hearts,—the root and origin of all natural religion, and supplying the link between the soul of man and the message of the Gospel. Wherever again our enquiries will lead us, we shall notice the weakness of this form of natural religion; how, though it may have risen to the conception of the human attributes of deity, it too often recognises the divine presence only in the marvellous and mysterious,—when the cripple

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stands upon his feet, or the serpent falls off the Apostle's arm,—but forgets that the same power is ever present in common blessings,—the fertilizing rain, or the ripening harvest. Wherever our enquiries will lead us, we shall further notice the effect of this adoration only of the wonderful, in the superficial religious excitement, and the quick revulsion of thought and feeling, when no deep impression has been made upon the heart, which it was the painful lot even of an Apostle to experience, and which has often so sadly discouraged the work of the missionary in every age.

Limits of the Church during the first Four Centuries.

Up to the period when our enquiries commence, the Christian Church had not, except in the extreme East, extended her conquests far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. Her territorial field may be said to have mainly included the countries around the Mediterranean Sea—Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Southern Gaul, Egypt, and Numidia—the very centre of the old world and its heathen culture. Within this area the kingdom of God had made its way silently and "without observation." Its going forth had not been proclaimed on the house-top or in the market-place. The Word had indeed been "running very swiftly," but it was the Word of Him whose earthly life had been spent in an obscure village of Palestine, and who had died the death of the malefactor and the slave. The "mustard seed," the "hidden leaven," had been true figures of its progress, overlooked by the world yet penetrating the world with its secret and subduing force There is a mystery, as has been often observed, about the planting of the Church in various places[1]. Who knows the origin of the congregation already at Damascus when the disciple of Gamaliel went thither breathing forth threatening and slaughter against those of "the way"? Who can recount the circumstances to which Timothy's mother and grandmother owed their knowledge of the

[1] Blunt's *First Three Centuries*, p. 190.

truth? Who can throw light on the planting of that Church in Rome to which the great Apostle addresses so many salutations? Who, again, so first laboured in planting the Church of Gaul, that in the second and third centuries a Pothinus and an Irenæus could enter into their labours? Who, lastly, can throw any certain light on the origin of the early British Churches?

Its vitality in spite of persecution.

But, though thus hidden, it was not long before the leaven began to vivify and pervade the whole mass of society, before what had been the consolation of the slave, or the fugitive in the catacombs, became the creed of the statesman and the magistrate. In spite of contempt and outrage the Gospel message commended itself to the hearts of men. Philosophers might scoff at the first believers; politicians might suspect them; the populace might pursue them with ferocious yells; a Nero might persecute them when goaded on by the malicious misrepresentations of the Jews; a Hadrian and a Trajan, as deeming them guilty of insubordination and treason; a Marcus Aurelius and a Decius, from horror at the public calamities of the empire; a Diocletian, as recognising in the new and mysterious society a formidable rival to be put down and crushed; but there were at all times the few to whom the new faith spake "as never man spake;" there were always the children by whom its "wisdom was justified." The story of Justin Martyr, after trying everything else in vain, commended by the old man on the seashore to enquire into the "new philosophy," is, no doubt, the story of many[1]. And so the still small voice made itself heard, and the "weakness" of God proved itself "stronger than man." The symbol of the most degrading punishment the Roman could inflict on the malefactor and the slave became the symbol of an empire's creed, and was blazoned on the conqueror's banner.

[1] See Neander's *Church History*, I. 44.

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Causes of the Church's triumph.

And what had been the weapons of the Church in winning this signal triumph over a hostile religion and a hostile government, powerful in all its material appliances, and the time-honoured prestige of its name? What had been the influences which had placed her progress in exact correspondence with the decline of so potent an adversary? They had been direct and they had been indirect. Among the latter we may include the utter dissatisfaction of men with the existing religious and philosophical systems, and the insufficiency and decay of heathenism, which, broken up into an infinity of sects and persuasions, had taken deep root neither in the intellect, the conscience, nor the affections of mankind[1]. Art and Literature, Philosophy and Politics, had done their utmost, and yet man had not attained that which he felt he needed. His soul still thirsted, it had reached no fountain of "living water." After years of conflict and enquiry, he was still lost on the shoreless ocean of uncertainty. Self-convicted of his impotency to regenerate himself, he cried out with Seneca, *O that one would stretch out his hand*[2], and sighed for relief from the endless strife of discordant systems. And to this deep-felt want the Gospel, the message of glad tidings, responded, and thus exerted a direct, a divine, influence. It calmed the clashing creeds of heathenism by proclaiming God as One; it attracted the hearts of men by its revelation of His true character as a Father; it proclaimed the glad tidings of His infinite Love as displayed in the incarnation of His Eternal Son; it assuaged the sense of guilt, the craving for restoration, by pointing to the Sacrifice of the Cross; it strengthened the power of hope by bringing to light

[1] See De Pressense's *Religions before Christ*, p. 188. Kurtz's *Church History*, p. 57. Schaaf, *Apost. Hist.* p. 386.

[2] Seneca, *Ep.* lii.: "Stultitia, inquis, est: cui nihil constat, nihil diu placet. Sed quomodo, aut quando nos ab ea revellemus: Nemo per se satis valet: oportet manum aliquis porrigat, aliquis educat."

life and immortality, and the glory of the world to come. And while thus it proved its adaptation to the wants of men, it manifested its Divine Power sometimes in miracles and signs, the echoes of the Apostolic age, often in the constancy of martyrs under persecution, oftener in the upright walk, the holiness, and charity of its believers and teachers. Evangelists like Pantænus and Frumentius proclaimed abroad its message from a God of Love, and adorned its doctrines by the sincerity and devotion of their lives; and what they effected directly was carried forward indirectly by Christian captives, Christian colonists, Christian soldiers. Apologists, again, like Irenæus and Justin, Cyprian and Athenagoras, Origen and Tertullian, justified its claims to be the "true philosophy;" the Fathers of the East moulded its creeds; the Empire of the West bequeathed to it its organization and its laws; with Constantine it was publicly recognised as the religion of the State; with Gratian and Theodosius its supremacy was established.

Incoming of the new races.

But when the Iron Kingdom had run its race, the territorial field of the Church was to be widened, it was to spread Westward, and Northward, and Eastward; and now a very different element was proposed to the energies of the Christian teachers. As the Roman Empire sank beneath her feet, its last embers trampled out by Alaric, the Church found herself confronted with numberless hordes, that had long been gathering afar off in their native wilds, and were now to be precipitated over the entire face of Europe. Strange, indeed, in language and customs and mode of life, were the nations which now poured forth to fill the abyss of servitude and corruption in which the Roman Empire had disappeared, and to infuse new life-blood into an effete civilization. Celt and Teuton, Slave and Hun followed each other in quick succession, each presenting to the Church some new element to be

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controlled and brought into subjection. She was now called to allay these agitated elements of society, to introduce some degree of order, to teach the nations a higher faith than a savage form of nature worship, to purify and refine their recklessness, independence, and uncontrollable love of liberty, to fit them to become the members of an enlightened Christendom.

It is from this point then that we set out; at this critical period we take our stand to watch and see, how when the foundations of the great deep seemed to be broken up, and chaos to have come back to earth, the Christian Church did not falter, but girded herself for her great mission, and strove to win over to the fold of Christ the dark masses of heathendom that surrounded her. Mindful of the difficulties she had to encounter in making this effort, of the features of the times when it was made, of the interruptions, checks, vicissitudes, and delays which would be inevitably incident thereto, we shall learn not to expect too much from men who partook of the common infirmities of our nature, and the vices characteristic of their age. We shall rather rejoice to trace from time to time the fulfilment of the Divine Word, *Behold I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world*, and to see how in conformity therewith, the leaven destined to pervade and quicken the whole mass of European society was never *altogether* inert, impassive, or ineffectual.

CHAPTER I.

THE MISSION-FIELD OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

> Quum barbaries penitus commota gementem
> Irrueret Rhodopen, et mixto turbine gentis,
> Jam deserta suas in nos transfunderet Arctos.—CLAUDIAN.

N the present chapter we shall attempt to survey what nay be termed *the mission-field of the Middle Ages*, and o notice some of the more striking characteristics, social, noral, and religious, of the nations which established hemselves upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, and now waited the missionary zeal of the Christian Church. As n outline is all that we can possibly attempt, we may, inking minor divergences of race, and regarding them olely in their moral and religious aspects, arrange these ations under the several groups of Celts, Teutons, and ilaves.

1. *The Celt.*

With the first group indeed we shall be but partially oncerned. The people it includes had already in a great ieasure, before the time when our enquiries commence, ecome amalgamated with their Roman conquerors, and iared their manners, institutions, and mode of life: still iey formed that portion of the mission-field into which ie Apostle of Ireland and his disciples first entered, and ie members of the churches thus founded, were so pre-ninent for missionary zeal in England and the continent, iat they cannot be wholly passed by.

CHAP. I.

ii. *The Teuton.*

With the Teuton we shall be mainly concerned in our account of the propagation of the Gospel in our own island, and in Southern and Northern Germany. Under this generic term we shall include also the races, more developed perhaps, but for all purposes the same in moral character and religious belief, which peopled the Scandinavian continent, and so long resisted the efforts of their own princes and Christian missionaries to induce them to lay aside their old Teutonic faith.

iii. *The Slave.*

The Slavonic group will arrest our attention when we describe the missionary exertions of the Eastern Church in Bulgaria, Bohemia, and Russia, or of her Western rival in Pomerania, Prussia, and the neighbouring countries. The well-known inaction of the Church of Constantinople in missionary work confines us mainly to the West, and to the triumphs of Latin Christianity[1]. At the extinction of paganism, the Eastern churches had almost ceased to be aggressive, or creative; and with the exception of the missions of Ulphilas to the Goths, of Cyril and Methodius to Moscow, of the Nestorians in Persia, India, and perhaps to lands still further East, they present but little to detain us, and were, as it has been strikingly said, "but the temporary halting-place of the great spiritual migration, which from the day that Abraham turned his face away from the rising sun, has been stepping steadily westward[2]."

The Celt.

1. We begin then with the Celts. At a very early period in her history, as is known to all, Rome had encountered the Cymry, or the Gael. The name of Brennus recals a scene in her history, when, in spite of the patriotic

[1] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 3. "Islamism curtailed the Eastern Church," remarks Hardwick, "on all sides, but awoke not a primitive devotion in its members, nor injected a fresh stock of energy and health: it had already entered in the 7th century upon the calm and protracted period of its decline."—Hardwick's *Church History, Middle Age*, p. 3.

[2] Stanley's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, p. 23.

radictions of her own historians, she was very nearly
umbing before those gigantic warriors, whose butchery
er senators in the capitol was handed down from
ration to generation, in legend and in song. From
day forward, these half-naked tribes were a continual
ce of terror. They swarmed into Greece, attempted
ack Delphi, and founded kingdoms in Asia Minor.
ing the first Punic war the Roman legionary found
a protecting Carthaginian cities in Sicily; encountered
a in the second serving, under the banner of Hannibal,
the bloody fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. The
ble reverse at Tolosa roused the wrath of the avenger
ius, and after two tremendous engagements at Pour-
s and Vercelli, in which Rome had a foretaste of what
in store for her degenerate emperors, the terrible
ier of Arpinum succeeded in warding off the barbaric
ads, and was saluted as a third founder of Rome.
it was during the campaigns of Cæsar, which lasted
ards of fourteen years, and cost him two millions of
, that the Celtic nations became really known, being
lgamated with the fortunes and fate of the Italian
tal. The commentaries of this great commander give
a vivid idea of the impression they made upon him;
he has described with minute accuracy their gigantic
ire, fair complexions, enormous muscular strength,
love of personal decoration. Fond of war, hot in
per, but simple and void of malice, they knew little
hat personal liberty which was the proud character-
of the Teuton[1]. While the meanest Teuton was
pendent and free, the lower orders among the Celts
a little better than in a state of slavery. All freedom
power centered in their chieftains.

[1] "Plebes pæne servorum habe-
co, quæ nihil audet per se, nullo
etur consilio." Cæs. *de B. G.*
3. On the physiological and psychological features of the Teuton and the Celt, see Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 23.

CHAP. I. *The Druids.*

The same great commander has given us the fullest and clearest account of the Druids[1], the all-powerful religious order of the Celtic tribes. Under their various divisions they were at once the ministers of a theocracy, and the judges and legislators of the people. Enjoying an immunity from service in the army and the obligation to pay taxes, they instructed the youth of the nation in the mysteries of learning, which they veiled in inviolable secrecy, and did not suffer to be committed to writing. The chief doctrine thus imparted was the immortality of the soul, or rather its transmigration into another body, an article of faith deemed of especial importance as an incentive to heroic virtue. To this cardinal doctrine was added instruction in the nature and motion of the heavenly bodies, the nature of things, and the power and greatness of the immortal gods.

It was the opinion of Cæsar, who assures us that the religious belief of Gaul and Britain were the same, that the latter was its birthplace, and that pilgrims from Gaul flocked thither as to an holy island. It is more probable that Druidism retained a more lasting hold over the colony than the mother country, traversed everywhere by the Roman legions. How powerful was its influence is attested by the constancy with which it was proscribed by successive Roman generals, and the fact that Suetonius Paulinus, convinced of the impossibility of subduing the Britons in any other way, penetrated into the sacred island of Mona, cutting down its sacred groves, and butchering its white-robed priests. But though the system thus received its death-blow in England, it lingered on for centuries in Ireland and the Scottish highlands. When we come to trace the missionary labours of the Apostle of Ireland and his disciples, we shall find proof that it still retained a portion of its once undisputed supremacy in

[1] Cæsar, *B. G.* VI. 14.

civil as well as ecclesiastical. The invariable use
ves of the Irish saints of the word *magus* to ex-
e Druidic profession, sufficiently illustrates their
s. In the Book of Armagh the monarch of Ire-
epresented, at the arrival of St Patrick, as having
ervice his soothsayers and magicians, his augurs
ners[1]; and a member of the same order withstands
ch pertinacity the first preaching of the missionary
na in the Scottish Highlands. Almost of equal
ith the Druids, and as vigorously proscribed in
by Roman policy was the Ollamh, the "bard,"
man," and only a step lower stood the Seanch-
ie "historian," or "story-teller[2]." The person of
ier is represented as inviolate; with the princes,
ids, he takes part in the great national assemblies,
s next in precedence to the monarch himself; he
ed tithe in the chieftain's territory, besides ample
es for himself and his attendants; and by carrying
ng his wand to any person or place, he confers
ary sanctuary from injury or arrest[3].

The Celtic Faith.

conqueror of Gaul has also traced the main
of the Celtic religious belief. However modified
ave been by subsequent contact with Roman or

lamnan's *Life of St Colum-*
es, p. 74 *n.* In the Irish
Paul's Epistles at Wurtz-
loss on Jannes and Jam-
n. iii. 8) is *duo Druidæ*

In an ancient Hymn
St Columba (*Miscel.* Irish
oc. I. 8) we find the rather
pression, "Christ the Son
ny *Druid.*" In the Book
we find Dathi (A.D. 405),
sor of Niall of the Nine
asking the Druids to ascer-
n by their arts the events
to happen to him during
g year; and Cormac em-
Druids, like the medicine-
s North American tribes,
to deprive the men of Munster and
their cattle of water. O'Curry's *Lec-*
tures on MS. Materials of Ancient
Irish History, p. 271. A decree of
one of the Councils of St Patrick di-
rects "Christianus...qui more genti-
lium ad aruspicem meaverit, per sin-
gula crimina anni pœnitentiam agat."
Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 52. See also
Patrick's Hymn in Petre's *Tara Hill*,
p. 57.

[2] O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 3.

[3] One of the questions discussed
at the Council of Druim-ceatt in
A.D. 575 was the expulsion of the
Bardic Order on account of their in-
ordinate covetousness.

CHAP. I. Teutonic systems, it is clear that its original form was Sabæism, and the worship of the powers of nature. Highest in the great Pantheon was the sun, "the life of everything," "the source of all being," who shared the devotion of his votaries with the moon and stars, with genii of the hills and the valley, of the grove and the spring[1]. The "sacred principle of fire" also received special adoration. The season of the vernal equinox was ushered in by the sacred festival of the Baal-tinne, or the day of the Baal Fire, and was celebrated with peculiar rites. The sacred fires which once, from every hill-top in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands welcomed the return of the solar beams, and the banishment of winter's gloom, linger now in the fires of St John's Eve[2].

The forces of nature, now beneficent and now destructive, have never been worshipped without suggesting the idea of mysterious antagonism, and reproducing more or less the dualism of the East, nor does the Celtic faith seem to have been an exception to the rule. But the rival votaries of the respective principles of fire and water could harmonise their differences by their doctrines, that the material world was doomed to an endless alternation of annihilation and reproduction, according as one or the other of these principles was in the ascendant[3]. The records of Celtic missionary labour in Ireland and Scotland do not make any special mention of those numerous gods whom Cæsar mentions as adored in Gaul, and to whom he has transferred the attributes of the gods of Rome. The names do not occur in these records of Teutates or

[1] For indications of well-worship in the times of St Patrick, see *Vita Trip.* II. 70: "Venit S. Patricius ad fontem in Campo *Finn-Magh* dicto, quem credulum vulgus Regem Aquarum vocabat, et nomen (Hibernicum) ex virtute quam inesse credebat apponendo, *Shan*, i. e. salutiferum, appellabat. Imperitum namque vulgus credebat in illo fonte, seu verius ipsum fontem *Numen* aliquod esse, et hinc aquarum Regem vocabat, et ut Deum colebat." See also *Vita S. Columbæ*, II. ii., and Betham's *Gael and Cymry*, p. 235.

[2] See Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 37. O'Conor's *Rerum Hibern. Script.* I. xx.

[3] Döllinger's *Church History*, II. 22.

Hæsus, or Ceridwen, or Taranis; but the Apostle of Ireland is represented, in the earliest annals, as recalling his converts from the worship not only of spectres[1] and genii, but of idols also, the greatest of which, the image of Crom-cruach[2], stood on the plain of Magh Slecht, "the plain of Adoration," and was the chief object of primitive pagan worship till its destruction by St Patrick. As a rule, the original form of the Druidic ritual was of the simplest character. The shadow of the sacred grove, or the wide-spreading oak with its mystic mistletoe, was the Druid's temple; the hill-top, with its crom-lech or altar-stone, his nearest approach to architecture; while the triple procession round the sacred circle from east to west, the search for the sacred mistletoe on the sixth day of the moon, the sacrifice of the milk-white bull, and the usual methods of augury and divination constituted the chief portion of his religious rites. But at particular times, the instinct of expiation, the earnest craving to appease offended powers, or the dread of sudden danger, or the outbreak of the sudden pestilence, induced those inhuman sacrifices which Cæsar has described[3] as existing in his own day, and which long retained their gloomy ascendancy over their votaries.

With this outline of Celtic superstitions we must now pass on. The Celtic races, as we have already remarked, had, except in Ireland and Northern Britain, become amalgamated with the institutions, feelings, and social life of their Roman conquerors, and had learned to ascribe to their deities the attributes of the gods of Greece and Rome. We are therefore hardly concerned with their religious creed, except so far as they formed an advanced outpost amongst the western nations, and when evangelized by Christian

[1] See *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 155. *Rer. Hibern. Script.* I. xxii.

[2] See O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 103. *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 43 *n.*

[3] *B. G.* VI. 16.

CHAP. I.

missionaries, became, in their turn, signally ardent and successful preachers of their newly adopted faith.

ii. *The Teuton.*

2. The first wave indeed of immigration had flung the Celt on the European continent, but he soon made way for the Teutonic and Slavic tribes, who next left their homes amidst the Asiatic steppes, and poured down upon the frontiers of the Roman Empire. The Slave came first, but the Teuton quickly followed, and long anticipated him in his contact with the empire, as he was also his superior in moral and social culture.

Under the generic name of Teuton we include, as we have said, not only the inhabitants of that vast region which, bounded by the Baltic on the North, the Rhine on the West, the Vistula and Oder on the East, may be called, with tolerable accuracy, the European home of the Teutonic tribes; nor the Goths only who poured down from the Scandinavian peninsula, and under the name of Ostrogoth and Visigoth, rapidly established themselves in Southern and Eastern Germany; we include also those hardy Northmen, whose gaudy but terrible barks bore them, during the eighth and ninth centuries, from their homes in Denmark and Sweden, to be the scourge and terror of the European shores. Differ as these did, undoubtedly, in minor points—in all the essentials of their moral and religious character they were similar, and for our purposes it will suffice to embrace them under a single head. And this we feel justified in doing. For it may be received as certain that the objects of worship among the Anglo-Saxons were, in the main, identical with those recognised by the wide-spread German race on the continent[1].

[1] "While the Scandinavian mythology, even as it has been transmitted to us, may be regarded as a connected whole, the isolated fragments of German mythology can be considered only as the damaged ruins of a structure, for the restoration of which the plan is wholly wanted. But this plan we in a great measure possess in the Northern Mythology, seeing that many of these German ruins are in perfect accordance with it. Hence we may confidently conclude that the German religion, had it been

To obtain however a clear conception of the Teutonic religious system at this era, is not easy. Tacitus, our authority respecting the earliest German races, "has painted them," to quote the words of Guizot, "as Montaigne and Rousseau the savages, in a fit of ill humour against his country;" and the missionaries of the Middle Ages seldom supply that accurate information regarding the religious faith of the pagan tribes, amongst whom they laboured, which we desire. Selecting then such points as appear to admit of least dispute, we may conclude that a distinction must be drawn between that simpler and purer faith, which the Teuton brought with him from his home in the far distant East[1], and that which afterwards, owing to settlement in strange lands, intermixture with other races, and such like causes, modified the original form.

Early Teutonic belief.

The earliest Teutonic doctrine, then, appears to have recognised one Supreme Being, whom it represents as Master of the Universe, whom all things obey[2]. "Who is first and eldest of the gods?" it is asked in the *Edda*, and the answer is, "He is called Allfadir in our tongue[3]."

handed down to us in equal integrity with the Northern, would, on the whole, have exhibited the same system." Müller, *Altdeutsche Religion*, quoted in Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, I. 228. The principal German writers appear to be divided as to the existence or non-existence of a German mythology *distinct* from the Scandinavian. Simrock attributes *identity* of *belief* and *worship* to the Scandinavians and Germans. Grimm attempts to construct specifically *German* mythology. See Perry's *Franks*, p. 21. Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 330. Menzell's *Germany*, I. 51.

[1] "A comparison of the several myths, the Northern on the one side, and the Indian, Persian, and other kindred mythologies on the other, suggests many striking resemblances. The Oriental is contemplative, the Northern is one of pure action; according to the first, the gods are to be reconciled by work of atonement, according to the second, by battle." Thorpe's *Northern Myth.* I. 135.

[2] "Such seems to have been the sublime conception above, if not anterior to, what may be called the mythology of Teutonic religion."—Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 258.

[3] The Semnones, a tribe of the Suevi, claimed for their territory the honour of being the original seat of the worship of Allfadir. See Perry's *Franks*, p. 22. Tacit. *Germania*, cap. 39: "Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione confirmatur... Eo omnis superstitio respicit, tanquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia."

CHAP. I. He lives from "all ages, and rules over his realm, and sways all things great and small. He made heaven and earth, and the lift, that is, the sky, and all that belongs to them, and what is most, he made man, and gave him a soul that shall live and never perish, though the body rot to mould, or burn to ashes[1]." In other places he is spoken of, as the "Author of every thing that exists," the "Eternal," the "Ancient," the "living and awful Being," the "Searcher into concealed things," the "Being that never changes." His is an infinite power, a boundless knowledge, an incorruptible justice. He cannot be confined within the enclosure of walls, or represented by any likeness to the human figure[2]. He has neither sex nor palpable form, and can only be worshipped in the awful silence of the boundless forests, and the consecrated grove. Such appears to have been the primitive faith, more developed subsequently in the Scandinavian *Eddas*, but resting on elemental ideas common to all the Germanic tribes. Allfadir would be a name naturally dear to a people which as yet had hardly passed the limits of the patriarchal state, amongst whom every father of a family was at once a priest and king in his own house[3]. But the idea of pure spirit was too refined to retain a lasting hold on the mind and conscience; it lost its original distinctness, and retired more and more into the back ground, surviving only as the feeble echo of an older and purer revelation. Just as the Aryan[4] in crossing the Hindû Alps, was spell-bound by the new and beauteous world

[1] Dasent's *Norsemen in Iceland*, p. 187. *Oxford Essays*, 1858. Comp. also Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 258; Thorpe, I. 229.

[2] "Nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam oris humani speciem assimulare, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur, lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia videt." Tac. *Germ.* 9.

[3] Taciti *Germania*, 10: "Si publice consuletur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiæ, precatus deos." Compare Grimm, *D. Myth.* p. 80.

[4] Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, II. p. 11, 12.

ch he was transplanted, so the Teuton in the his migrations towards colder climes, bowed down the wild and overbearing powers of nature;" but orship not sufficing, as it never has sufficed, there condly, an elaborate form of hero-worship, the ı of the conquerors of nature, that is, of man him- virtues, and his vices.

1. *Nature-Worship.*

irst, we say, there was the worship of the ele- from the invisible One emanates, so thought the an infinite number of inferior deities, whose temple part of the invisible world. Hence the veneration e; of nature in all her forms and manifestations; eavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, which was re- ıs of the male sex, the stars; the earth itself, the of Tacitus[1], with its trees and springs, its fountains ; the sea, with its storm and calm; the falling d the bristling ice. And since entire nature was rgan or instrument of Deity, it was of the utmost ıce, to pay attention even to the most indifferent na. Nothing was too trifling. The quivering leaf, kling flame, the falling thunderbolt, the flight or of birds, the neighing of horses[2], man's dreams and even the movements of his pulse, all needed atten-

Herthus of Tacitus (*Germ.* , doubtless, Hertha the rth, or impersonated na- ich he describes the wor- ıguage singularly coinci- that of the Berecynthian Phrygia." Milman's *Lat.* y, I. 260. Turner's *Anglo-* 117. Kemble's *Saxons in* 337—344. Döllinger, II. *sula oceani*, in which Ta- ents her worship to have its en identified by some wri- e island of Rügen, and the ſecklenburg and Pomera- ers with Zealand, or Oesel. ac. *Germ.* II. c. 40.

[2] Comp. Taciti *Germania*, cap. 10: "Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri. Publicè aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, apud proceres, apud sacerdotes: se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant." On similar Slavonic customs see below.

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tion, all might give some sign from the other world. Hence amongst all the Teutonic nations, Gothic, Saxon, Scandinavian, the peculiar regard that was paid to oracles and divinations, to auspices, presages, and lots[1]; hence the functions of the prophetess and the sibyl, the enchanter, the interpreter of dreams, the diviner by offering cups, or the entrails of animals, or human sacrifices, the raisers of storms, the Runic sticks, and all the usual instruments for exploring the secrets either of the past or future. Upsal was the Teutonic Delphi, as famous for its oracles, as for its sacrifices[2]. Here, as in other places, might be found diviners, both male and female, who could supply runes to secure victory in the battle, to preserve from poison, to heal bodily infirmities, to chase away melancholy, or to soften the heart of a cruel mistress. Thus all nature had a voice for the imaginative Teuton, the skies, the woods, the waters, were his books, his oracles, his divinities. Again and again, the records of missionary labour will disclose the worship of the spring and the well, the belief in spirits of the hill and of the lake.

II. *Hero-Worship.*

ii. But nature-worship does not satisfy. Man ceases to quail before her mighty powers, he learns to defy the wind and storm, the frost and cold, and nature-worship is blended with a complicated system of human gods. The first and eldest of the gods, we saw, was Allfadir, Odin,

[1] The *Indiculus Superstitionum* and the lives of mediæval missionaries afford an insight into the various kinds of Teutonic sorcery. We find *sortilegi*, diviners by lot; *incantatores*, enchanters; *somnium conjectores*, interpreters of dreams; *cochlearii*, diviners by the offering-cup; *haruspices*, consulters of entrails; *immissores tempestatum*, raisers of storms. Thorpe, *N. M.* p. 242. Boniface writing to Cuthbert in 745, informs him that by a decree of a recent Council, "Statuimus ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parochiam suam sollicitè circumeat, populum confirmare, et plebem docere, et investigare, et prohibere paganas observationes, divinos vel *sortilegos*, *auguria*, *phylacteria*, *incantationes*, vel omnes spurcitias gentilium." *Ep.* lxiii. ed. Migne. Compare also the Appendix to Kemble's *Saxons in England*, Vol. I.

[2] Adami Bremensis *Gesta PP. Hammaburg.* Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, T. CXLVI. p. 642.

or Wotan[1]. But this Monotheism quickly fades away. The Great Father is resolved into his attributes, his power is divided amongst a number of inferior divinities, sprung from himself, to each of whom he imparts a portion of his greatness. Hence the twelve Æsir, and the twelve Asyniar. And as in the Hindû mythology Brahm is almost forgotten before Vishnû, or the more terrible Siva and Kali, so Odin shares the worship of his votaries with Thor[2], the Thunderer, the "chief of the gods in strength and might;" with Tŷr[3], the Teutonic Mars, the "bravest of all the gods, the giver of victory, and god of battle;" with Freyr[4], the god of fertility, of seed-time and harvest,

[1] Woden, Norse *Odinn*, old German *Wuotan* (whence Wodnes-dæg, Odinsdagr, Wednesday); to him the royal families of all the Teutonic races traced their lineage, and he is identified by Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 9), though for what reason is not quite clear, with *Mercury*. "Woden sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est, qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis gentibus ut deus adoratur." Pauli Diac. I. 9. "Woden, id est, *Fortior*, bella regit hominumque ministrat virtutem contra inimicos." Adami Bremensis *Gesta PP. Hammaburg*, IV. 26. On his worship among the Suevi on the Lake of Constance, see Jonæ *Vita S. Columbani*, II. 26. Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 343, remarks, "So common in every part of England are names of places compounded with his name, that we must admit his worship to have been current throughout the island."

[2] Thor = Donar, "qui præsidet in aere, qui tonitus et fulmina, ventos imbresque serena et fruges gubernat." Adam Bremensis, *Gesta PP. Hammaburg*, IV. 26. The prevalence of the worship of this deity (after whom comes Dunres-dæg, Thunresdæg, dies Jovis) is attested by the Low German formula of renunciation, "Ec forsacho allum diaboles uuercum and uuordum *thunaer* ende *uuoden* ende *Saxnote* ende allem them umholdum the hira genotas sint." Thorpe, *N. Myth.* I. 230 *n.*

[3] Tyr = *Tiu* (whence *Tiwes-dæg* Tuesday) = *Ziu* = *Mars*, the Ἄρης βροτολοιγὸς, μιαιφόνος, of Homer, worshipped chiefly amongst the Hermunduri, Tencteri, Suevi, and Scandinavians. See Grimm, *D. M.* 180, 181. Of his worship Jornandes says, "Martem semper asperrima placavere cultura; nam victimæ ejus mortes fuere captivorum, opinantes bellorum præsulem aptius humani sanguinis effusione placatum." *Hist. Goth.* cap. v. Kemble (*Saxons*, I. 353) traces the presence of this deity in Eresburg in Saxon Westphalia, = Mons Martis, now Mersberg, the hill of Er, Ziu, or Mars.

[4] Freyr = *Fred* = Old German *Fro*, one of the chief gods of the Swedes, the seat of whose worship was at Upsala. "Fricco pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus cujus etiam simulacrum fingunt cum ingenti priapo." Adam Brem. IV. 26. "Si nuptiæ celebrandæ sunt sacrificia offerunt Fricconi." IV. 27. Thorpe's *N. Myth.* 27 *n.* He enjoyed an extensive worship in all parts of Europe. His sacred animal was the boar. On the connection of his worship with the needfire so often forbidden by the

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of marriage and fruitfulness; with Baldr[1], fairest of all his sons, and wisest of the Æsir, "the restorer of peace, the maker up of quarrels;" while Frigga[2], Odin's wife, presides over the sweet spring-time, and the rising seed, with her attendants Fulla, plenty, Hlin, warmth, and Gna, the sweet and gentle breeze. The Æsir and the Asyniar are the blithe, beneficent powers, but the Teuton could not look out upon the natural world, without tracing in its contradictory phenomena, the operation of other dark and sinister powers, who had brought about a convulsion in high places, and with whose machinations the human race has become entangled. Hence the belief in monstrous fiends and giants, cruel and inexorable. Chief of all these

Loki.

was Loki, whom in language strongly recalling Eastern traditions, the Teuton called the "calumniator and backbiter of the gods," the "grand contriver of deceit and fraud." In his form he is fairer than any of human mould, but his mind is evil; his nature feeble; "he cheateth in all things, and in the arts of perfidy and craft he hath no equal." Once the friend and associate of the Æsir, united with them in sacred brotherhood, he fell like Lucifer, and terrible is his three-fold offspring, the first, Fenris-wolf, the second, Midgard's-worm, the third, a daughter, Hel, the

Christian missionaries, and the existence of his worship even in the 13th century, see Kemble, I. 359.

[1] Baldr = Baldæg, the Phœbus Apollo of Scandinavia, with whom Grimm identifies Phol, and of whose worship under the name of *Pol* or *Pal* Kemble discovers some obscure traces in Polebrooke in Northamptonshire, Polesworth in Warwickshire, Polstead in Surrey, and other places. "Baldr's lay," he observes, "may not have been entirely without influence upon the progress of Christianity among the Saxons, if, as is probable, it resembled in its main features the legend of the Scandinavians." *Saxons in England*, I. 367. See also Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, I. 23 *n*.

[2] See Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, I. 167. Other goddesses mentioned by Bede (*Rerum Nat.* XV.) are *Hrede*, in whom Kemble would trace in some form or other Frigga, Woden's wife, and *Eostre* or *Eastre*, a bright goddess of light and of the newly awakened year. *Saxons*, I. 375. "That she was deeply impressed upon the mind and feelings of the people follows from her name having been retained in the great festival of the Church." See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, I. 218.

goddess of death. These are the enemies of the Æsir, the authors of disquiet and strife[1]. So long, indeed, as the Æsir had Baldr amongst them, they were safe in Asgard, nor could sin and wickedness prevail on earth. But on a sudden, Baldr the Beautiful began to be haunted with terrible dreams that his life was in peril. In visions and soothsaying it was darkly hinted that some great trouble was in store for the gods from the giant-brood of Loki, who never ceased to work evil among the Æsir.

Baldr.

In alarm, Frigga, the mother of gods and men, bound with an oath all created nature, that the pride of the Æsir, the darling of the Asyniar, should take no harm of "fire and water, of iron and all kinds of ore, of stones, trees, sicknesses, beasts, birds and serpents." And all created nature took the oath, except one thing only, a sprig of mistletoe, then thought too young to enter into so solemn a compact. And Baldr, believing he was invulnerable, offered himself as a mark for the spears and maces of his fellow-gods. In vain was each shaft aimed against his beauteous form; axe and mace and spear glanced off harmlessly from him whom all nature had sworn to save.

But the malignant crafty Loki bore him ill-will. "So he took on him a woman's likeness," says the *Edda*, "and went to Frigga. And as they talked together, Frigga asked her visitor if she knew what the gods did at their meetings. The woman said she heard they all shot at Baldr, and that he was unscathed." "Yes," says Frigga, "no weapon nor tree may hurt Baldr, I have taken an oath of them all."

[1] "With the entrance of Loki into the Scandinavian mythology, the milder natural religion of the Teutons took a more warlike and savage character, instead of ruling the world in peace, the father of gods and men becomes a god of battles, Valfadir. To this period too must be ascribed the conception of Odin's preparing his feast in Valhalla." Dasent's *Norsemen in Iceland*, p. 191. Compare Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 90, and *Prose Edda*, p. 446.

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"What! have all things sworn to spare Baldr?" asks the woman. "Well," replied the goddess, "eastward of Valhalla, grows a tree-twig, called mistletoe, that we thought too young to crave an oath of[1]." Thereupon the traitor took the mistletoe, and at the meeting of the gods placed it in the hands of the sightless Hödr, and the shaft pierced Baldr through, so that he fell down dead.

Deep and sore was the affliction of the gods, when the darling of heaven yielded to death. But not without some attempt to ransom him was he to descend to the abode of Hel. Odin himself, on the high-stepping Sleipnir, went down to the infernal palace, if haply he might persuade the awful goddess to restore his son. And from Hel's palace he returned with the glad tidings that Baldr might be restored to the world above, if all nature that had sworn to preserve him would now lament his death. And all nature wept, and it seemed that he would return, but as the messengers came back from Hel, they came upon an old hag seated in a cave. Her name was Thauck, and when she was asked to weep for Baldr, she exclaimed,

"Thauck will bewail
With dry tears
Baldr's baleful fire.
Nor quick nor dead gain
By man's son,
Let Hel hold her own."

So spake the crone, whose form men guess the hateful Loki had assumed, and Baldr's fate was sealed. Odin could not conquer Death. Around the pile in his good ship Ringhorn, whereupon was laid the fairest of the Æsir side by side with his beautiful Nanna, whom nothing could induce to survive her lord, gathered the gods

[1] *Prose Edda*, Mallet's *Northern Antiq.* p. 446. Dasent's *Norsemen in Iceland*, p. 195.

and goddesses, and wept that for Baldr there was no resurrection; that in the dark realm of Hel, in the cold kingdom of the dead, the beauteous god of light must lie for ever[1].

Future Restoration.

And yet not for ever, for with the universal protest against a religion of despair, it was whispered by those that knew the Fates that Baldr would yet arise, not now indeed, but in the after time, when the twilight of the gods was passed. Then after awful prodigies, after the crash of an old and wicked world, in glory and joy shall he return; and over the new earth, purified from sin and sorrow, the god of innocence and purity shall reign, and there the good shall dwell, and happiness enjoy for evermore[2].

The Creed adapted to the race.

Such, roughly and briefly, were the outlines of the Teutonic creed, and it was suited to the race. As in process of time war followed war, and the Saxon first, and the Northman after him was fain to leave his country, and conquer new kingdoms, his creed would become more warlike. Allfadir would become Valfadir, the "god of war," the "terrible and severe god," the "father of slaughter," who welcomed the warrior in Valhalla. But everywhere and at all times it was a creed to which the Teuton clung, and for which he died, "for it was but the transfiguration of the natural man, with all his virtues and vices, with all his feelings, and passions, and natural affections[3]." And hence, too, the free and easy way in which the Teuton regarded his gods. If he honoured them aright, and offered the due sacrifices, he claimed his reward; but if he considered himself unfairly treated, as

[1] For the beautiful and analogous legend of "Maui the Young," the Prometheus of the Southern Seas, see Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, III. 203.

[2] See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 411. Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, I. 77, 78. Baldr's death was supposed to have been avenged by Odin's son Vali, who slew Hödr.

[3] Dasent's *Burnt Nyal*, I. xvii.

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we shall see, once and again[1], he openly reproved them, forsook their worship, and destroyed their temples. For though it may be true that in early times the Teuton had no temples, that the deity whom no inclosure could contain, or mortal form represent, received the adoration of his worshippers in the obscurity of the wood, or on the lonely mountain-top; yet it is certain that with the introduction of an elaborate form of polytheism there gradually grew up a more elaborate form of external worship.

Teutonic temples.

The transition from the sacred oak, or the mysterious grove, to the hill altar and the cairn was easy; as easy, the transition thence to the temple of wood, with its nave and shrine, its holy and most holy place[2]. In the Norse temples, formed doubtless on a plan common in earlier times, the images of the gods stood on a platform in the shrine[3]. In front of them was the altar, on which burnt the holy fire. On it, too, was laid the great ring, which, stained with the sacred blood, was placed in the hand of such as were about to take any solemn oath. Hard by, also, was the brazen vessel in which the blood of the slaughtered victims was caught, and the brush or twig wherewith the worshippers were sprinkled. The latter stood opposite the platform of the gods, behind a partition wall, over which, in the outer court, they beheld the ceremonies[4]. The temple of Upsal, the Teutonic Delphi, was in circumference not less than nine hundred ells, and glittering on all sides with gold[5]; in it Odin was re-

[1] See the speech of Coifi at Godmundingham, and other instances in the account of the Missions in Scandinavia.

[2] *Burnt Njal*, I. xxxvii.

[3] The fact that the temples were of wood, and probably, at least in great part, the idols also, accounts for the fact that we have no single extant example of a Teutonic idol. See *Archæologia*, Vol. xxxv. p. 379.

[4] See Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Iceland*, p. 164.

[5] "In hoc templo [scil. Ubsola] quod totum ex auro paratum est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio; hinc et inde locum possident Woden et Fricco." Adam Brem. IV. 26. Mallet, 109.

presented with a sword in his hand, while on his left stood Thor with the insignia of a crown, a sceptre, and a hammer, and on his right Freyja, an hermaphrodite, with many emblems characteristic of productiveness. Near Eresburg, on the Drimel[1], stood, till the times of Charlemagne, the celebrated Saxon idol, called the Irmin-Saule. On a high stone column rose the figure of a gigantic warrior, girt with a sword, holding in his right hand a banner, on which was painted a bright red rose, in his left a balance: the crest of the warrior's helmet was a cock, on the breast was figured a bear, on the shield was the representation of a lion in a field full of flowers. The image itself was eleven feet in height, and of a light red colour; its base was of rude stone, surrounded with belts of orichalcum, of which the upper and lower were gilt. It was the largest idol of all Saxony, and pictures of it were suspended in other temples; its priests were in high repute; it could aid the warrior in the din of battle, who oftentimes rode round it and murmured to it his prayers for aid; and sometimes it was borne into the field, and, when the conflict was over, all the prisoners, and all who had disgraced themselves by cowardice were immolated at its foot[2].

The Irmin-Saule.

The offerings presented in these temples consisted of all living things, sheep, oxen, swine, and especially horses. The latter sacrifice was particularly characteristic of the Germanic races[3]. The victims having been slaughtered

The Sacrifices.

[1] See Meibomius *de Irminsuld.* "Imago statuæ erat vir terribilis, et gladio accinctus: in galeâ stabat gallus loco coni: in thorace expressus ursus; in clypeo leo. Manu dextrâ ferebat vexillum, cum insigni rosæ rubeæ; in sinistrâ lancem æquilibrem, quæ item in clypeo spectabatur." Adam Brem. I. 6. Grimm's *D. M.* 81, 208. Latham's Tac. *Germ.* p. 48. Akerman, in his *Pagan Saxondom*, (p. xxi.) says the Irminsül was worshipped under the joint attributes of Woden, Mars, and Mercury. "The Irminsül, a mysterious symbol, in which might be seen the image of the world or of one's country, or of a god or of a hero." Michelet, I. 79.

[2] See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, I. p. 224.

[3] See Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. xxxix. Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Iceland*, p. 164. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 109.

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before the images of the gods, the heads were by preference offered to them, and with the hides were fixed or hung on trees in the sacred groves[1]. The blood was caught in the blood-bowl and sprinkled with the blood-twig on the altar, the images, and the people, while the fat was used for anointing the images, which were then rubbed dry. The flesh was boiled down in caldrons, over fires placed along the whole length of the nave. Round these the worshippers took their seats, and ate the flesh, and partook of the broth, while the chief, to whom the temple belonged, blessed the cups of mead or beer in honour of Odin, Freyr, Thor, Freyja, and last, of departed friends. Then the rest in order took the cup, and each made his vow or offered his prayer, and so the feast went on, terminating too often in riot and drunkenness. Such were the usual sacrifices. But human victims were also offered on great occasions, particularly slaves, criminals, and captives[2]. This custom was common to all the Germanic races, and answered to our public executions. But at Upsal, the ninth month of each year, and every ninth year appear to have been specially set apart for these mournful ceremonies[3]; and on such occasions the presence

Human victims.

Snorro, I. 327. The horseflesh branded by the Christian missionaries was the flesh of the sacred horses offered before the heathen altars, at the great feasts in honour of the gods.

[1] Thorpe's *Northern Antiq.* I. 265. The discovery of bones, but especially the teeth of ruminants, in our pagan Saxon burial grounds may be accounted for by the practice (forbidden by Christian missionaries, see *Ep.* Bonif. LXXI.) of placing the heads of animals slain in sacrifice on poles or stakes near the graves of the dead. "Thus exposed to the effect of wind and weather, the teeth would become detached and strewn upon the ground, and as successive interments took place, would be mingled with the earth which filled the graves." Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, p. xvii. *Archæologia*, XXXV. p. 379.

[2] Bartholini *Antiq. Danicæ*, 388—396. Thorpe's *N. Myth.* I. 264. Latham's Taciti *Germ.* p. 49. Milman, I. 260. There is distinct evidence of the practice of human sacrifice among the Goths, Frisians, Heruli, Thuringians, Swedes, and Danes.

[3] "Reges et populi, omnes et singuli sua dona transmittunt ad Ubsolam...Ex omni animante, quod masculinum est, novem capita offeruntur, quorum sanguine deos placare mos est. Corpora autem suspenduntur in luco, qui proximus est templo... Ibi canes et equi pendent cum homi-

of the king, together with that of all citizens of importance, was deemed absolutely essential. Human victims appear to have served often as sacrifices of atonement, being offered either to the malign deities, or as propitiatory sacrifices to the dead in the nether world[1]. In seasons of more than ordinary calamity, the king himself might be required to lay down his life. Thus, on occasion of a great dearth, the first king of Vermaland, in Sweden, was burnt in honour of Odin; the jarl Hakon offered up his son to procure the victory in the great sea-fight with the Jomsburg pirates; and Aun, another king of Sweden, immolated, at the shrine of Odin, nine of his sons, in order that his own life might be prolonged[2].

iii. *The Slave.*

3. But it is now time to glance at that third group of nations, the Slavonic, which, as we have remarked, has an especial interest for us, inasmuch as the conversion of these races was to the Church of Constantinople, what the conversion of the Teutonic family was to the Church of Rome. Though they became known to Western Europe and the Byzantine writers only in the sixth century, they were not unknown to the Greek father of history. He has told us of the Callipidæ and Alazones, and other Scythic tribes which have been identified with the Slavonians, and Pliny and Tacitus have mentioned them under the names of Venedi, Serbi, and Stavani. Without pausing, however, to investigate their origin and parentage, we may observe that gradually they became known to Western

nibus, quorum corpora mixtim suspensa narravit mihi aliquis Christianorum 72 vidisse." Adami Bremensis *Gesta PP. Hammaburg*, IV. 26.

[1] Dithmar, bishop of Merseburg, writing in the 11th century, says, "There is in Zealand a place which is the capital of Denmark, named Lederun (= Lethra). At this place, every nine years, in the month of January, the Danes flock together in crowds, and offer to their gods ninety-nine men, as many horses, dogs, and cocks, with the certain hope of appeasing the gods by these victims." Mallet, p. 114.

[2] Compare Tac. *Germ.* c. 39. "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent." Yngling, *Sag.* 29. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 112.

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Early Slavonic settlements.

Europe after the Teutonic races had settled down in the Southern and Western provinces of the Roman Empire. They established themselves as a peaceful nomad race on the lands which previous immigrations left unoccupied, till at length they gave their name to that part of Europe which extends from the Elbe to the Don, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea. On a map of Europe in the beginning of the sixth century, they are represented forming three principal branches or aggregates of tribes[1]. Towards the East, resting on the Euxine, and extending from the Dniester to the Dnieper and the Don, are the Antes, the progenitors of the great Russian people. The Western branch consisting of the Venedi, or Wends, rests upon the Baltic, and in process of time builds along its shores Lubeck, and Julin, and other seaport towns. Between the two intervene the Slavenes, a nomad race, blending sometimes with the Eastern, sometimes with the Western branch. At a later period their settlements embraced on the North of the Carpathian mountains Pomerania and Brandenburg, Saxony and Silesia, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland and Russia; while on the South of the same range, they settled in Moldavia and Wallachia, and gradually formed the kingdoms of Slavonia and Bosnia, Servia and Dalmatia, throwing offshoots even into Illyria and Carinthia[2]. Their first coming, we have said, was peaceful. They occupied quietly such lands as their Teutonic brethren left them, and thence pushed forward, Eastward, and Southward, and Westward, building trading cities like Kioff and Novgorod and Arcona in Rugen, sinking mines in Germany, smelting and casting metals, preparing salt and planting fruit-trees, leading a quiet and contented life. Early writers uniformly speak of them in favourable

[1] For their distribution in the times of Adam of Bremen, see his *Hist. Eccles.* II. 18. See also Döllinger, III. 22. Gibbon, V. 167 *n.*

[2] See Krasinski's *Lectures on Slavonia*, p. 4.

terms. Procopius describes them as free from malice and fraud, generous and hospitable. Adam of Bremen[1] extols their kindness and hospitality, and we shall find the biographer of an eminent missionary Bishop not only praising the same virtues in the Slavonians of Pomerania, but stating that their objections to Christianity were based on the rapacity and immorality of its professors[2]. But they became at an early period the victims of unparalleled oppressions, and the consequences were discernible in their national character[3]. Under the iron heel of the Germans on the North, the Turks on the South, and afterwards the Mongols on the East, their veracity and good faith were exchanged for duplicity and cunning. As they were first seen by Western Europe, they displayed all the simple and well-known characteristics of the pastoral tribe. Living in huts of rough timber in the depth of forests, or along the banks of rivers, tending their numerous flocks of sheep and cattle, or sowing the millet which they ate mingled with mares' milk, defending themselves in time of war almost naked with nothing but a shield for a weapon of defence, and for offence, a bow

Slavonic characteristics.

[1] *Hist. Eccles.* II. 12. "Omnes adhuc paganicis ritibus oberrant, ceterum moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior poterit inveniri." See also Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, cap. 12.

[2] *Vita Ottonis*, II. 40, Pertz, XII. 800. Boniface, writing to Ethelbald (*Ep.* LXII. ed. Migne) in the year 745, says, "Winedi, quod est fœdissimum et deterrimum genus hominum, tam magno zelo matrimonii amorem mutuum servat, ut mulier, viro proprio mortuo, vivere recuset, et laudabilis mulier inter illas esse judicatur, quæ propria manu sibi mortem intulit, ut in una strue pariter ardeat cum viro suo." Speaking of the Pomeranians the biographer of Otho says, "Tanta vero est fides et societas inter eos, ut furtorum et fraudum penitus inexperti, cistas aut scrinia seratas non habeant. Nam seram vel clavem ibi non vidimus, sed ipsi admodum mirati sunt, quod clitellas nostras et scrinia serata viderunt. Vestes suas, pecuniam et omnia preciosa sua in cuppis et soliis suis simpliciter coopertis recondunt, fraudem nullam metuentes, utpote inexperti." John de Plano Carpini mentions exactly the same thing of the Tartars, Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I. 55.

[3] "The wild but plaintive spirit of the hereditary bondman yet lives in his national music, as it breaks upon the ear, in the low, melancholy wail of the wind-instruments from the bands of Croat and Sclavonian regiments on the Glacis of Vienna." Sheppard's *Nationalities*, p. 147.

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and a quiver of poisonous arrows[1], or the lasso, they presented a ready object for oppression, and seemed to court it by their pastoral simplicity and inexperience. And centuries of oppression did their usual work. They became demoralized and debased; submissive in adversity, they were tyrants in their hour of power, and obtained notoriety for cruelties practised only amongst the most savage nations.

The Slavonic faith.

Their religious system was of a much simpler character than that of the Teuton. "The Slavonians," says Procopius, "worship one god, the maker of the thunder, whom they hold to be the only Lord of the universe, and to whom they offer cattle and different kinds of victims. They do not believe in fate, or that it has any power over mortals. Whenever they are in danger of death, either from illness or from the enemy, they make vows to God to offer sacrifices if they should be saved. When the peril is over, they fulfil their vows, and believe that it was this which saved them. They also worship rivers, nymphs, and some other deities, to whom they offer sacrifices, making divinations at the same time[2]." This description is applicable generally to the Slavonic tribes we shall notice in our record of missionary zeal. The "Lord of Thunder" appears under the name of Peroun at Kioff and Novgorod, and in Moravia his idol was of wood, with a head of silver. Triple and many-headed divinities, as Triglav and Radegast[3] the god of war, were peculiar to this group of nations, and as their system was dualistic, they had not only their good, but evil powers, their white and

[1] Gibbon, v. 170, ed. Smith.

[2] Procopius *de bello Gothico*, III. Krasinski, p. 14.

[3] "Medii et potentissimi omnium (Slavorum) sunt Retharii, civitas eorum vulgatissima Rethre (juxta villam *Prillwitz* prope *Neu-Strelitz*) sedes idolatriæ. Templum ibi magnum constructum est demonibus, quorum princeps est Redigas. Simulacrum ejus auro, lectus ostro paratus." Adam Brem. II. 18. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI. 17. Herbordi, *Vita S. Ottonis*, II. 29. Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Danicæ*, cap. xiv.

black divinities, Belbog and Zernabog[1]. The most famous idol, at least of the Baltic Slavonians, was Sviantovit, or Swantevits. His fane was at Arcona, the capital of the island of Rugen, and was not destroyed till the year 1168. A Danish historian[2], who may have been present at its destruction, informs us that the temple which was of wood, beautifully constructed, rose from a level spot in the middle of the town[3]. It had two enclosures. The outer consisted of a wall with a roof painted red; the interior was hung with tapestry, and ornamented with paintings. The idol which stood in the sanctuary was of a gigantic size, with four heads, as many necks, two chests, and two backs, one turned to the right and another to the left. In his right hand he held a horn, made of various metals, which was once a year filled with mead by the attendant priest. His left arm was bent on his side in the form of a bow. He was arrayed in a long flowing robe reaching down to the feet. Around him were placed his bridle, and sword of a very large size with its beautiful silver hilt and scabbard. The worship of the idol was defrayed by an annual tax, payable by every inhabitant of the island, by a third of the spoils taken in war, and the numerous votive offerings sent to the temple by Slavonic and neighbouring chiefs. A regiment of three hundred chosen cavalry was especially dedicated to Sviantovit;

Temple at Arcona.

Image of Sviantovit.

[1] See Döllinger, III. 22. Blumhardt, *Etabl. du Christianisme*, IV. 6.

[2] Saxo Grammaticus, *Historiæ Danicæ*, Lib. XIV. At Rugen were also the images of Porenut, the god of the seasons, with four faces and a fifth on his breast, also of Rhugevit, the god of war, with seven faces, and seven swords suspended at his side, and an eighth in his hand.

[3] Ibid. p. 320. Similarly in the life of Otto, bishop of Bamberg, we find the Slavonic temples at Stettin thus described: "Erant in civitate Stetinensi cortinæ quatuor, sed una ex his, quæ principalis erat, mirabili cultu et artificio constructa fuit, interius et exterius sculpturas habens, de parietibus prominentes imagines hominum et volucrum et bestiarum, tam proprie suis habitudinibus expressas, ut spirare putares ac vivere; quodque rarum dixerim, colorum imaginum extrinsecarum nulla tempestate nivium vel imbrium fuscari vel dilui poterant, id agente industria pictorum." Herbordi *Vita Ottonis*, II. 31, Pertz, XII. 794.

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in his name they went forth to fight, and brought back the booty which the priest made up into different kinds of ornaments for the temple[1]. The god himself was believed to accompany his worshippers to the battle-field on a white horse which specially belonged to him. It was a sin to pull a hair from his tail or mane, and the priest alone might feed or mount him: he also knew when he had been forth to battle, for in the morning he was found from time to time in his stable reeking with sweat and covered with mud[2]. This horse was especially consulted on going forth to war, for it could reveal the secrets of the future. When the tribe wished to declare war three rows of spears were laid down before the temple. Solemn prayers were then offered up, and the horse was led forth by the priest. If in passing over these spears he lifted his right foot first, then the war would be prosperous; if the left, or both together, it was a fatal omen, and the

Sacred horses.

[1] See for a like description of the votive offerings in the Slavonic temple of Stettin, *Ottonis Vita*, II. 31: "Crateres etiam aureos vel argenteos quibus augurari epulari et potare nobiles solebant ac potentes, in diebus solempnitatum quasi de sanctuario proferendos ibi collocaverunt. Cornua etiam grandia taurorum agrestium decorata et gemmis intexta, potibus apta, et cornua cantibus apta, mucrones et cultros, multamque supellectilem pretiosam, rararn et visu pulchram, in ornatum et honorem deorum suorum ibi conservabant."

[2] *Historiæ Danicæ*, Lib. XIV. The description of the sacred horse in the temple of Stettin, which, however, was black instead of white, is given in very similar terms in *Ottonis Vita*, II. 32: "Habebant caballum miræ magnitudinis et pinguem, nigri coloris et acrem valde. Iste toto anni tempore vacabat, tantæque fuit sanctitatis, ut nullum dignaretur sessorem, habuitque unum de quatuor sacerdotibus templorum custodem diligentissimum. Quando ergo itinere terrestri contra hostes aut prædatum ire cogitabant, eventum rei hoc modo per illum solebant prædiscere: Hastæ 9 disponebantur humo, spatio unius cubiti ab invicem disjunctæ. Strato ergo caballo atque frenato, sacerdos, ad quem illius pertinebat custodia, tantum freno per jacentes hastas in transversum ducebat ter atque reducebat. Quod si pedibus inoffensis hastisque indisturbatis, equus transibat, signum habuere prosperitatis, et securi pergebant; sin autem minus, quiescebant." See also Thietmar, *Chronicon*, Lib. VI., who describes the same form of augury as existing among the Leuticians: "Equus, qui maximus inter alios habetur, et ut sacer ab iis veneratur, super fixas in terram duorum hastilium inter se transmissorum cuspides, supplici obsequio ducunt et præmissis sortibus, quibus id prius exploravere, per hunc quasi divinum, denuo augurantur."

Slavonic Ritual.

on was given up. The most solemn festival was vest. On this occasion the people of Rugen as- offered sacrifices of cattle, and held a solemn The priest, conspicuous for his long hair and beard, for the ceremony by sweeping carefully the most ce into which he alone might enter. In doing so obliged to hold his breath lest the divine presence be defiled, and if he wished to respire he was to go out into the open air[1]. On the morning of val he brought forth to the assembled people the mead-cup taken from the idol's hand. If the mead reased therein, he announced the fact to the mul- and bade them beware of scarcity; if it had in- it was an omen of abundance. The old liquor a poured forth as a libation at the foot of the idol, priest refilling it, engaged in solemn supplication people, praying for prosperity and victory in war. a emptied the horn at a single draught, and re-, placed it in the right hand of the idol, where ed till the next year. Round cakes of flour and were then offered, and the priest concluded the y by blessing the people in the name of the god, g them to frequent sacrifice, and promising them, reward, victory by sea and land. The rest of the spent in feasting on the remains of the offerings, people were taught that, on this occasion, intem- was a virtue, sobriety a sin[2].

is the account given by a contemporary writer of

Danicæ, Lib. XIV.: "Ob- intra ædem halitum fun- o quoties capessendo vel opus habebat, toties ad ocurrebat, ne videlicet dei mortalis spiritus contagio ." The only genuine mo- Slavonian idolatry which down to us were discover- ed at Prillwitz, on the banks of the lake Tollenz, in Mecklenburg, the supposed site of Rhetra; they were dug up about the end of the 17th century. Krasinski, p. 16, n.

[2] "In quo epulo sobrietatem violare pium æstimatum est, servare nefas habitum." *Hist. Danicæ*, XIV.

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Slavonic dualism.

this celebrated Slavonic idol; and it gives us a very vivid idea of Slavonic worship as it was observed as late even as the middle of the twelfth century[1]. The characteristics of Slavonic heathenism are plain. It was marked, on the one hand, by the worship of the gladdening, fructifying powers of nature, and, on the other, by the deprecation of dark and sinister powers, who manifest their malignant arts by creating discord, sickness, and death. The first were symbolized by Lada, the goddess of love and pleasure, Kupala, the god of the fruits of the earth, Koleda, the god of festivals, who delighted in offerings of the fruits of the earth and in songs and dances round lighted fires[2]. Of the others, the chief was Zernabog, the Black Deity, whose name recalls the Matchi Manito of the Mexicans, and who, like the latter, was approached with fear and horror, and propitiated with human sacrifices and darker rites. The belief in fairies and sprites, in water-nymphs and wood-nymphs, in sorcery and magic, was as active amongst the Slavonians as amongst their Teutonic brethren, while the respect paid by them to their priests, who united civil and religious functions, was as submissive as that of the Celt to his Druid teacher.

With this sketch of the religious systems of the three great groups of nations now presented to the energies of the Christian Church, we pass on to describe the lives and labours of those who now appeared to communicate to them the Word of Life.

[1] The Sclavonic population of the countries on the Baltic, Prussia, Courland, Livonia, Esthland, and Lithuania, and the mixed Lettic and Sclavonic population of Prussia, continued pagan till the 13th century. "The Lettic tribes added a god in the form of a bird; they had their sacred trees and groves, offered human sacrifices, and were, like the Finlanders, skilled in the arts of magic and sorcery." Döllinger, III. 278.

[2] *Historiæ Danicæ*, Lib. XIV. As in other countries, so in Poland and Russia, on the eve of St John the Baptist (June 23) youths dance round lighted fires in honour of *St John Kupala;* the festival of *Koleda* is repeated in that of Christmas, and Christmas is even called *Kolcda* in some parts of the same countries. See Krasinski, p. 15. Ranke's *Servia*, Introd.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EFFORTS OF THE CHURCH AMONGST THE NEW RACES.

A.D. 340—508.

Καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασι ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς.—IRENÆUS.

Scanty records of the propagation of the Gospel among the Gothic nations.

WHEN we proceed to enquire in what way a knowledge of Christianity was diffused among the nations which thus established themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire, we find, at least at the outset, that ecclesiastical history can give us but scanty information. "We know as little in detail," remarks Schlegel, "of the circumstances under which Christianity became so universally spread in a short space of time among all the Gothic nations, as of the establishment, step by step, of their great kingdom on the Black Sea[1]." The rapid and universal diffusion, indeed, of the new faith, is a proof of their capacity for civilization, and of the national connection of the whole race; but where shall we find the details of their conversion? We have not a record[2], not even a legend, of the way in which the Visigoths in France, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, the Suevians in Spain, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the followers

[1] F. Schlegel's *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 51.

[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 269. Smith's Gibbon, IV. 324. Döllinger, II. 72. On the early traces of Christianity in Germany, see Fabricii, *Salut. Lux Evangelii*, pp. 417—419. Wiltsch's *Geography of the Church*, I. 109. Eng. Transl.

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of Odoacer, and the fiery Lombards, were converted to the Christian faith. We may trace this, in part, to the terrible desolation which at this period reigned everywhere, while nation warred against nation, and tribe against tribe; we may trace it, still more, to the fact that every one of the tribes above mentioned was converted to the Arian form of Christianity, a sufficient reason in the eyes of Catholic historians for ignoring altogether the efforts of heretics to spread the knowledge of the faith. And till the close of the sixth and the opening of the seventh century, we must be content with the slenderest details, if we wish to know anything of the early diffusion of Christianity on the European continent.

Missionary efforts of Ulphilas.

The record, however, of one early missionary has "forced its way into the Catholic histories." In the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the Goths descending from the North and East, began from their new settlements on the Danube to threaten the safety of the southern provinces of the Empire. Establishing themselves in the Ukraine and on the shores of the Bosphorus, they spread terror throughout Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. In one of these inroads, they carried off from the latter country a multitude of captives, some belonging to the clergy, and located them in their settlements along the northern bank of the Danube. Here the captives did not forget their Christian duties towards their heathen masters, nor did the latter scorn to receive from them the gentle doctrines of Christianity. The work, indeed, went on in silence, but from time to time, we have proofs that the seed had not been sown in vain. Among the 318 bishops at the Council of Nice, the light complexion of the Gothic bishop Theophilus must have attracted notice, as contrasted "with the dark hair and tawny hue of almost all the rest[1]." But Theophilus was the predecessor and teacher of a still

[1] Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 110, 2nd Edition.

greater missionary. Among the involuntary slaves carried off in the reign of Gallienus were the parents or ancestors of Ulphilas, who has won for himself the title of "Apostle of the Goths." Born, probably, in the year 318, he was, at a comparatively early age, sent on a mission to Constantinople, and there Constantine caused him to be consecrated bishop by his own chaplain, Eusebius of Nicomedia[1]. From this time he devoted himself heart and soul to the conversion of his countrymen, and the Goths were the first of the barbarians, among whom we see Christianity advancing general civilization, as well as teaching a purer faith[2].

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But his lot was cast in troublous times: the threatened irruption of a barbarous horde, and the animosity of the heathen Goths, induced him to cross the Danube, where the Emperor Constantine assigned to his flock a district of country; and here he continued to labour with success. The influence he had already gained, and the natural sense of gratitude for the benefits he had bestowed upon the tribes by procuring for them a more peaceful settlement, rendered his efforts comparatively easy[3]. Rejoicing in the woodlands and pastures of their new home, where they could to advantage tend their numerous flocks and herds, and purchase corn and wine of the richer provinces around them, they listened obediently to the voice of their bishop, whom they likened to a second Moses. And the conduct of Ulphilas justified their confidence. With singular wisdom he did not confine his efforts to the oral instruction of his people; he sought to restore to them the art of writing, which probably had been lost, during their migration from the east to the north of Germany. Composing an alphabet of twenty-five letters, some of

A.D. 348–374. *Labours amongst the Goths.*

[1] See *The Life of Ulphilas* by one of his pupils, bishop Auxentius, published by Waitz of Kiel, 1840.

[2] See Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 173.

[3] Smith's Gibbon, IV. 324.

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which he was fain to invent, in order to give expression to sounds unknown to Greek and Latin pronunciation[1], he translated the Scriptures into the native language of his flock, omitting only the four books of Kings[2], a precaution he adopted, from a fear that their contents might tend to rouse the martial ardour, and fierce spirit of a people, who, in this matter, to use the quaint language of the historian, "required the bit rather than the spur."

After a while, he was constrained to act the part of mediator between the Visigothic nation and the Roman Emperor Valens. In the year A.D. 374 the barbarous horde of the Huns burst upon the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, and having subdued it, turned their eyes to the lands and possessions of the Visigoths. Unable to defend the line of the Dniester, the latter fell back upon the Pruth, hoping for safety amidst the inaccessible defiles of the Carpathian mountains. But sensible that even here they were not secure, a considerable party began to long for an asylum within the Roman dominions, and it was agreed that ambassadors, with Ulphilas amongst their number, should repair to the court of Valens, and endeavour to obtain a new settlement.

A.D. 376. *Ulphilas at the Court of Valens.*

Valens was an Arian and a controversialist. At this very time he was enforcing at Antioch, "by other weapons

[1] "Ulphilas," remarks Müller, "must have been a man of extraordinary power to conceive, for the first time, the idea of translating the Bible into the vulgar language of his people. At his time, there existed in Europe but two languages which a Christian bishop would have thought himself justified in employing, Greek and Latin. All other languages were still considered as barbarous. It required a prophetic sight, and a faith in the destinies of those half-savage tribes, and a conviction also of the utter effeteness of the Roman and Byzantine empires, before a bishop could have brought himself to translate the Bible into the Vulgar dialect of his barbarous countrymen." *Lectures*, p. 175. Gibbon, IV. 323, ed. Smith.

[2] "For the Old Testament he used the Septuagint; for the New, the Greek text; but not exactly in that form in which we have it." Müller's *Lectures*, p. 174. Gieseler, II. 79. On the celebrated Codex Argenteus see Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, p. 676. Wetstein, *Prolegom.* I. 114.

than those of reason and eloquence," a belief in the Arian theology; and when the poor bishop presented himself and requested aid in the dire necessity of his people, the emperor is reported to have persecuted him with discussions on the hypostatic union, and to have pressed upon him the necessity of repudiating the confession of Nice, and adopting that of Rimini. Ulphilas was in a great strait, but being a simple-minded man, and considering the question one of words, and involving only metaphysical subtleties, not worthy of consideration in comparison with the sufferings of his people, he assented to the emperor's proposal, and promised that the Gothic nation should adopt the Arian confession. The emperor, on his part, consented to give up certain lands in Mœsia, but annexed to this concession two harsh and rigorous conditions; that before they crossed the Danube, the Goths should give up their arms, and suffer their children to be taken from them as hostages for their own fidelity, with the prospect of being educated in the different provinces of Asia[1].

Gothic colony in Mœsia.

On these hard terms, instructions were issued to the military governors of the Thracian diocese, bidding them make preparations for the reception of the new settlers. But it was found no easy matter to transport across a river more than a mile in breadth, and swelled by incessant rains, upwards of a million of both sexes and of all ages. For days and nights they passed and repassed in boats and canoes, and before they landed, not a few had been carried away and drowned by the violence of the current. But besides the disciples of Ulphilas, thousands of Goths crossed the river who still continued faithful to their own heathen priests and priestesses. Disguising, it is even said, their priests in the garb of Christian bishops and fictitious ascetics, they deceived

[1] Smith's Gibbon, III. 320. Döllinger, II. 16.

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the credulous Romans, and only when on the Roman side of the river did they throw off the mask, and make it clear that Valens was not easily to have his wish gratified, and see them converted to Arianism. One of the hereditary chiefs, Fritigern, a disciple of Ulphilas, adopted the creed of the empire, the other, Athanaric, headed the numerous party which still continued devoted to the altars and rites of Woden. The latter faction placing their chief god on a lofty waggon, dragged it through the Gothic camp; all who refused to bow down, they burned with their wives and children; nor did they spare the rude Church they had erected, or the confused crowd of women and children who had fled to it for protection. But while the great bulk of the Gothic nation were involved in constant wars with the Roman armies, and under the two great divisions of Ostrogoths and Visigoths were gradually spreading themselves over Gaul, Italy, and Spain, Ulphilas continued, till the year 388, to superintend the temporal and spiritual necessities of the peaceful and populous colony of shepherds and herdsmen, which, as in another Goshen, he had formed on the slopes of Mount Hæmus, and to whom he had presented the Gothic Bible in their own tongue[1].

S. Chrysostom. A.D. 404.

The zeal he had displayed found an imitator in the great Chrysostom[2]. What was the measure of his success we have no means of judging, but it is certain that he founded in Constantinople an institution in which Goths might be trained and qualified to preach the Gospel to their fellow-countrymen[3]. Even during the three years of his

[1] "The translation of Ulphilas was used by all the Gothic tribes when they advanced into Spain and Italy." —Müller's *Lectures*, p. 174.

[2] See Guericke's *Manual of Eccl. Antiq.* p. 92.

[3] Ὁμογλώττους γὰρ ἐκείνοις πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους, καὶ τοὺς τὰ θεῖα ὑπαναγινώσκοντας λόγια προβαλλόμενος μίαν τούτοις ἀνένειμεν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλοὺς τῶν πλανωμένων ἐθήρευσεν.—Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 30.

banishment to the remote and wretched little town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, amidst the want of provisions, frequent sicknesses without the possibility of obtaining medicines[1], and the ravages of Isaurian robbers, his active mind invigorated by misfortunes found relief not only in corresponding with Churches in all quarters, but in directing missionary operations in Phœnicia, Persia, and amongst the Goths[2]. In several extant epistles we find him advising the dispatch of missionaries, one to this point, another to that, consoling some under persecution, animating all by the example of the great Apostle St Paul, and the hope of an eternal reward. And in answer to his appeals, his friends at a distance supplied him with funds so ample, that he was enabled to support missions and redeem captives, and even had to beg of them that their abundant liberality might be directed into other channels. How far his exertions prevailed to win over any portion of the Gothic nation to the Catholic communion, we have no means of judging. Certain it is that from the Western Goths, the Arian form of Christianity extended to the Eastern Goths, to the Gepidæ, the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevi[3]; and, it has been justly remarked that we ought not to forget "that when Augustine, in his great work on the 'city of God,' celebrates the charity and clemency of Alaric during the sack of Rome, these Christian graces were entirely due to the teaching of Oriental missionaries, heretics though they were[4]."

[1] S. Chrysost. *Op.* XII. *Ep.* xiv.

[2] *Opera*, Vol. XII. pp. 729, 747, 748, 749, 750, 799. Gibbon, IV. 157. Wiltsch's *Church Geog.* I. 187.

[3] "Sic quoque Visigothi a Valente Imperatore Ariani potius quam Christiani effecti. De cætero tam Ostrogothis, quam Gepidis parentibus suis per affectionis gratiam evangelizantes, hujus perfidiæ culturam edocentes omnem ubique linguæ hujus nationem ad culturam hujus sectæ incitavere." Jornand. c. XXV. Gieseler, II. 80. Döllinger, II. 16.

[4] Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 291, 2nd Edition. See Aug. *de Civitate Dei*, Lib. III. chap. 29: "Galli quidem trucidaverunt senatum, quid-

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arly Anchorites.

But even during the present period of disorder, while the different nations were moving forward, to take up their position on the ruins of the Roman Empire, instances are not wanting, of men who were willing to leave their homes, to evangelize the heathen, or reclaim the Arianised tribes. Scanty, indeed, are the records of their labours which have come down to us, but as drops betokening the coming shower, as the "cloud no bigger than a man's hand," which told of "abundance of rain," their preparatory efforts must not be passed by. Of a few of these, we will first speak, before we recount the circumstances that led to the baptism of Clovis, and the conversion of the Franks, events pregnant with the most important issues to the ecclesiastical history of Europe, and, not least, to the subsequent encouragement and protection of missionary labour.

S. Valentinus. A.D. 440.

One of the first of these early labourers, Valentinus[1], appeared in the year 440, in the neighbourhood of the modern Passau, then called Castra Batava, a town or rather fort in Vindelicia, at the junction of the Inn and the Danube. Eagerly desirous to preach to the pagan inhabitants, but reminded of the words of the Apostle Paul, "How shall they preach, unless they be sent," he is said to have betaken himself to Rome, and sought from Pope Leo authority to commence his labours. Successful in his petition, he returned to Passau, and commenced his work, but his efforts were ineffectual owing to the opposition of the Arians, and the tenacity with which the heathen adhered to their superstitions. Again, therefore, he repaired to Rome, and begged that he might be sent to some other

quid ejus in urbe...reperire potuerunt ...Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit quod aliquos peremerunt."

[1] In Surius, *Acta SS.* Aug. 4, we have a life of this missionary based on an ancient record of his labours said to have been found, about the year 1120, beside his body under the church of Passau. It is described as written "tabulâ plumbeâ, et ut vix posset intelligi...tum vetustate, tum terræ putrefactione dissipatâ..."

quarter of the mission-field, where he might behold some reward for his toil. Leo received him kindly, and urged him to make a final effort, empowering him if again unsuccessful, to seek some other sphere of labour, and ordaining him a regionary Bishop. For the third time he now repaired to Passau, to find himself still unable to make any impression. The Arians, with whom he would hold no communication whatever, and not even eat or drink[1], resented his interference with cruelty, and he was forced to retire to the highlands of the Rhætian Alps. Here he built himself a cell amidst the passes of the Tyrol, and lived the life of a solitary. His austerities speedily attracted the notice of the surrounding population, his retreat became the resort of numbers, who flocked to hear the word of life from his lips, and to receive baptism at his hands. With the assistance of a few others whom he had persuaded to adopt an ascetic life, he constructed a Church, and devoted himself to prayer and contemplation, to reading and almsgiving; and while he was reaping the harvest denied him among the people of Passau, that neighbourhood was visited by one, whose self-denying labours have won for him the title of the "Apostle of Noricum[2]."

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A.D. 440.

A curious mystery veils alike the birth-place, and the early years of Severinus. None could tell whence he came, when, soon after the death of Attila, he made his appearance in the country now known as Bavaria and Austria. From his speech it might have been inferred that he was a Latin or a North African, but from his own lips nothing more could be learnt, than that in a distant province of the East, he had once encountered great danger, from which the Providence of God had delivered him. But he never revealed the particulars of his early life, and men scarcely

A.D. 454—482.

S. Severinus.

[1] "Versutias hæreticorum toto studio declinabat, ita ut nec audire eos, nec in cibo, potu, aut qualibet amicitiæ conjunctione cum eis communicare vellet." *Vita S. Valentini.*

[2] *Vita S. Severini, Acta SS.* Bolland. Jan. 8.

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dared to ask him. On one occasion, when every one else hung back, a certain presbyter, by name Pirmenius[1], had the courage to put the question, and to him the saint replied in a playful strain, "What! do you take me for some runaway slave? Provide then a ransom which you may pay for me, if I am inquired for." And then he continued in a more serious tone, "What advantage can it be for a servant of God to specify his country or his descent, when, by keeping silence, he can so much better avoid all boasting? Notwithstanding be assured that the same God who ordained that thou shouldest be a priest, bade me come to the assistance of the suffering people of this country." On another occasion, however, he went so far as to hint, that from a wish for close communion with God and the unseen world, he had fled in early life to an Eastern desert: but in his retreat, he perpetually seemed to hear voices, which bade him show forth his love to Christ in a more practical way, and labour for the welfare of the heathen tribes on the distant Danube.

His missionary efforts in Pannonia.

He had come, therefore, to the province of Pannonia, and found the country a scene of the wildest confusion. Law and order had fled; tribe after tribe crowding upon one another, passed through the land wasting and destroying; the people afflicted by alternate war and famine, saw themselves stripped of their possessions, and sold into slavery. In spite of scenes like these the good man did not despair; he would comfort the hearts of the afflicted people; he would live amongst them a life of absolute self-denial; he would spend and be spent in their behalf; and by his own example he would teach them how they might bear their trials. Accordingly he took up his abode in the neighbourhood of Vienna, and here and near Passau

[1] "Pirmenius quidam, presbyter Italiæ, nobilis et totius auctoritatis." *Vita S. Severini*, Cap. 4. Neander's *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 333. Döllinger, II. 74.

he built for himself a cell, and shortly afterwards a monastery, where he trained a few faithful followers to become preachers in Pannonia and Noricum.

His heroic courage.

Nothing daunted his heroic courage. Though a native of the East, he contrived to inure himself to every hardship, so that in time he could travel barefoot in the midst of winter[1] over frozen rivers, in order to collect from the different tribes food and clothing for the naked and the hungry, or means whereby to ransom those who had been sold into slavery. Though merciful to others he never spared himself, but consented to submit to the greatest hardships, if he could thereby minister to the wants of his flock. His fame spread far and wide; his cell was visited by multitudes who regarded him as a prophet and a teacher from a higher world. His advice was asked and acted upon, without question or doubting. On one occasion, his exhortation to Christian charity sank so deep into the hearts of his hearers, that they made their way in the depth of winter, over mountains, and through trackless forests, amid snow and ice, to bring clothes and food to their poorer brethren. On another occasion, he received from some merchants a quantity of olive oil, then very scarce and precious. Assembling his people in Church, and returning thanks to God, he there distributed to each a due proportion, counselling some, at the same time, to fly to the fortified towns for protection, and exhorting all to thank God for His great mercies, and amid the constant and devastating wars which had driven them from their homes, to put their full trust and confidence in Him, and to believe that He was doing all things well. His love was comprehensive. In barbarians, whether orthodox or Arian, he recognised brethren needing aid, and

[1] "Calceamento nullo penitus indutus, ita mediâ hyeme, quæ in illis regionibus sæviore gelu torpescit, nudis pedibus semper ambulare contentus, singulare patientiæ dabat exemplum."—Eugippii *Vita*, cap. 2.

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drove none away. The Arian chief of the Rugii[1] sought his advice; in the spirit of the Apostle of the Gentiles he received him, "but not unto doubtful disputations," and gave him good counsel in his necessities. All were won by the attractive power of his love, by the sincerity and devotion of his life. The sick in their afflictions, the penitent in their remorse, rough soldiers in times of danger, sought his counsel; some he healed, others he advised, all he comforted.

His influence over barbarous chiefs.

Such was his influence, that barbarian chiefs consented, at his instance, to spare beleaguered towns, to restore captives, and to refrain from cruelty. Even the garrisons of Roman fortresses implored his presence among them, believing that thus they were protected from harm. On one occasion, the king of the fierce Alemanni approached the town of Passau, threatening to besiege it. In their alarm, the inhabitants sought the aid of Severinus, whose cell was close by the confluence of the Inn and the Danube. He went forth to meet the king, with whom he was not altogether unacquainted. The reverence of the latter for the man of God was so great, that he not only did not dare to attack the town, but abstained from laying waste the neighbouring territory, and restored the captives he had taken. The courage, moreover, that Severinus exemplified himself, he could inspire in others. The city of Vienna was once besieged by a barbarian horde, who carried off the flocks and herds of the inhabitants, and wasted their lands to the very walls. "Hast thou no soldiers to pursue these marauders?" said Severinus to the commander of the garrison. "With my small force

[1] "Rugiorum rex...habens Gothos ex inferiore Pannoniâ vehementer infensos...beatissimum Severinum in suis periculis consulebat. Tunc ergo a viro Dei hoc responsum prædictus accepit: *si nos una Catholica fides annecteret*, magis me *de vitæ perpetuitate debuisti consulere;* sed quia tantum *de præsenti salute sollicitus*, quæ nobis est communis, interrogas, instruendus ausculta."—Eugippii *Vita*, c. 2.

...re not venture," replied the other, "to attack such a multitude; but if thou biddest me go, I will go, trusting to conquer, not by force of arms, but by thy prayers." "Go forth," said the holy man, "and put thy trust in God. Take weapons from the foe, and arm thy troops with them. The merciful God goes before thee, and the weak shall become strong; but slay not thy captives, bring them all to me unharmed." The commander went and conquered; the captives were brought to Severinus, who caused them to be refreshed with meat and drink, and then sent them back to their countrymen with a warning not to venture there again for the sake of plunder, as they would assuredly not escape the wrath of God who fought for his people.

His Humility.

No wonder that by a grateful and admiring people such a man was regarded as a prophet and a worker of miracles. Yet he himself did not seek notoriety: sometimes he enjoined silence, always he bade his hearers ascribe the praise to God, "who doth wonders in heaven and on earth, quickening the lost to salvation, and calling back the dead to life." No wonder also that the rough soldier chiefs attracted by the heroism of his life invoked his aid in times of danger, or when undertaking a new enterprise. Thus Odoacer, who had led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, having made up his mind to the desperate adventure of seeking a kingdom in Italy, solicited the approbation and blessing of the saint. The lowness of his cell would not admit the lofty stature of the chief, but Odoacer stooped, and received the encouragement he desired[1]. "Proceed," he was told, "to Italy;

[1] "Odoacer ... vilissimo tunc habitu, juvenis statura procerus advenerat. Qui dum se, ne humile tectum cellulæ suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset, a viro Dei gloriosum se fore cognovit. Cui etiam valedicenti, 'Vade,' inquit, 'ad Italiam, vade, vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito plurima largiturus.'"—*Vita S. Severini*, cap. 2. Gibbon, IV. 299.

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though clothed now with a coarse garment of skins thou wilt soon cast it away, and bestow wealth on many."

In behalf of his people, Severinus never failed to stand up and protest against oppression or cruelty threatened them by any of the barbaric chiefs. On one occasion, he heard that Gisa, queen of the Rugii, had taken some Roman captives, and had condemned them to cruel slave labour. The man of God interposed and petitioned earnestly for their release. This the queen stoutly refused, and bade him keep to his cell and his prayers, and leave her to treat her slaves as she pleased. "I trust in my Lord Jesus Christ," replied the other, "that what she will not do willingly, she may be compelled to do even against her will." His prayer was before long fulfilled. In a narrow cell some goldsmiths were condemned to labour beyond their strength in fashioning royal ornaments. Hither one day the queen's little child ran in sport; the prisoners seized it, and swore if they were not released they would first kill the child and then themselves. The queen in this dilemma relented, gave the prisoners their freedom, sent a messenger with all speed to Severinus to acknowledge her fault and implore his pardon, and at the same time sent back the Roman captives.

His Death.

At length the man of God lay on his deathbed. For thirty years he had continued to labour amongst his people, to bear the burden of their sorrows, and to animate them to sustain their numerous trials; declining the honour of the episcopate, he had preferred to go on as he had begun, and now his work was ended. But even on his deathbed he did not cease to reprove and exhort the barbarian chiefs. Sending for the king and queen of the Rugii, he reasoned with them long and earnestly of "righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come." At last stretching forth his hand, and pointing to the king's heart,

"Gisa," he asked, "which, tell me, lovest thou most, this soul, or gold and silver?" And when she replied that she loved her husband more than all the treasures of the world, "Beware," he continued, "of oppressing the innocent, lest their affliction bring your power to destruction; oftentimes you stand in the way of the king's clemency, and therefore I on the brink of the eternal world implore you for the last time to desist from all such evil deeds, and adorn your life with good works." The king and queen retired, and shortly afterwards the man of God embraced his brethren who had continued stedfast amidst all his dangers, and bade them farewell; he received the holy sacrament, and when they for sorrow could not sing the psalm that he desired, he began himself to sing, and with the words "let everything that hath breath praise the Lord" upon his lips, he expired on New Year's Day, A.D. 482. CHAP. II. A.D. 454—482. A.D. 482.

Such are a few of the many instances recorded by his biographer of the way in which this eminent missionary ministered to the wants, spiritual and bodily, of the tribes near the Danube, amidst the ravages and desolation of this period. Nor were the impressions made by his sojourn lost on the different chiefs. Many a deed of mercy and unexpected kindness was owing to his intrepid expostulations, and those of other solitaries who, braving the dangers and difficulties incident to such a calling, settled down with true missionary zeal amongst the wild and lawless tribes, and awed them into obedience by the austere holiness of their lives.

Conversion of the Franks.

But fourteen years after the death of Severinus, the chief of a tribe[1], which had settled along the Eastern bank of the Rhine, from its mouth to its junction with the Maine, espoused the Catholic Faith, and his conversion and that of

[1] On conversion of the Burgundians, see Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* VII. 30. Ozanam, *Civilisation chez les Francs*, p. 51.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 481.

his subjects demands our attention, not only as illustrating many of the secondary agencies which extended Christianity among the different nations at this period, but as exerting in its remote and its immediate consequences no little influence on the ultimate civilization of Europe.

In the year 481, Clovis or Chlodwig succeeded to the chieftaincy of the Salian Franks. He was only fifteen years of age, and the extent of his territory and the number of his subjects were extremely small, but the unusual daring and energy of his character speedily shewed that

A.D. 486.

he was destined to effect great results. He had no sooner reached the verge of manhood than he entered on that career of conquest which eventually laid at his feet a wider kingdom than that of modern France. His first campaign brought him face to face with Syagrius, annihilated the shadow of the old Roman dominion, gave him possession of Soissons, Rheims, and other Roman towns, and extended his borders to the Loire, the limit of the Visigoths. Ten years of comparative repose elapsed before his next victory over the Alemanni in a great battle near Zülpich, and in the meantime he had

A.D. 493.

married Clotilda, the daughter of Chilperic, king of Burgundy.

Clovis and Clotilda.

The family history of this princess illustrates the turbulence of the times, and proves how little as yet Christianity had allayed the ferocity of the barbarians. She had seen her father, mother, and two brothers all murdered by her uncle Gundebald, who, as though this was not enough, besieged his own brother in his castle, and burnt him alive. Though brought up in an Arian court, she had, through what influence is unknown, been educated in the Catholic faith. On her marriage with Clovis, she was permitted to conform to her own religion, and it naturally became her earnest desire to see her husband lay aside his idols, and adore with her the same God. But Clovis

was little disposed to yield to her suggestions, and remained profoundly indifferent to her entreaties. In time she gave birth to a child, and with Teutonic indifference the Salian chief permitted it to be baptized. The ceremony was performed with no little pomp, the Church, where she worshipped, was hung with curtains and tapestry, and the queen hoped that the spectacle of the splendour with which the sacred rite was performed might effect what her own arguments had proved unequal to accomplish[1]. But the child died, and this event served only to prejudice her lord still more, who saw in it the manifest resentment of his gods. Another child, however, was soon after born, and with the same strange indifference he allowed the dangerous experiment to be repeated. The child was brought to the font, and when it began to sicken, the king prophesied that it too was doomed to die. The honour of her God amongst the heathen was now at stake, and the queen prayed earnestly that the child's life might be spared, and her prayer was heard. Gregory of Tours tells us, that this made a profound impression on the warrior's mind. But it was not by these gentle influences that the omnipotence of the Christian's God was established to his satisfaction. In vain the queen recounted to him the miracles wrought at the tomb of St Martin at Tours, how the blind received their sight, and the dumb spake, and the deaf heard, and the lame walked; how perjurers were constrained to confess their sins, or were struck down by divine judgments; how dust from the saint's grave, or fragments of the wax tapers that burnt before his shrine, or of the curtains that concealed it, were possessed of resistless efficacy.

The warrior listened with the same careless indifference.

[1] "Adornari ecclesiam præcipit (sc. regina) velis atque corticulis, quo facilius vel hoc mysterio provocaretur ad credendum, qui flecti prædicatione non poterat."—Greg. Turon. II. 29.

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A.D. 496. *The Battle of Tolbiac.*

These were not the "evidences" to have much weight with him. At length, on the battle-field of Tolbiac, his incredulity came to an end. The fierce and dreadful Alemanni, fresh from their native forests, had burst upon the kingdom of his Ripuarian allies; Clovis with his Franks had rushed to the rescue, and the two fiercest nations of Germany were to decide between them the supremacy of Gaul. The battle was long and bloody, the Franks after an obstinate struggle wavered, and seemed on the point of flying, and in vain Clovis implored the aid of his own deities. At length he bethought him of the vaunted omnipotence of Clotilda's God, and he vowed that if victorious he would abjure his pagan creed, and be baptized as a Christian. Thereupon the tide of battle turned; the last king of the Alemanni fell, and his troops fled in disorder, purchasing safety by submission to the Frankish chief. On his return Clovis recounted to his queen the story of the fight, the success of his prayer, and the vow he had made. Overwhelmed with joy, she sent without delay for Remigius, the venerable bishop of Rheims, and on his arrival, the victorious chief listened attentively to his arguments. Still he hesitated, and said he would consult his warriors. These rough soldiers evinced no unwillingness; with, perhaps, the same indifference that he himself had permitted the baptism of his children, they declared themselves nothing loth to accept the creed of their chief[1].

Baptism of Clovis.

Clovis therefore yielded, and the baptism was fixed to take place at the approaching festival of Christmas. The greatest pains were taken to lend as much solemnity as possible to the scene[2]. The Church was hung with embroidered tapestry, and white curtains, and blazed with a

[1] "Omnis populus pariter acclamavit, "Mortales deos abjicimus, pie rex, et Deum, quem Remigius prædicat, sequi parati sumus."—Greg. Turon. II. 31. But see Perry's *Franks*, p. 80, n.

[2] Compare the account of the baptism of Constantine given in Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 216.

thousand lights, while odours of incense, "like airs of paradise," in the words of the excited chronicler, "filled the place." The new Constantine, as he entered, was struck with awe. "Is this the heaven thou didst promise me?" said he to the bishop. "Not heaven itself, but the beginning of the way thither," replied the bishop. The service proceeded. As he knelt before the font to wash away the leprosy of his heathenism, "Sicambrian," said Remigius, "gently bow thy neck, burn that thou didst adore, adore that which thou didst burn[1]." Thus together with three thousand of his followers, Clovis espoused Clotilda's creed, and became the single sovereign of the west, who adhered to the confession of Nicæa. Everywhere else Arianism was triumphant. The Ostrogoth Theodoric in Italy, the successors of Euric in Visigothic France, the king of Burgundy, the Suevian princes in Spain, the Vandal in Africa, all were Arians.

The conversion of Clovis, like that of Constantine, is open to much discussion. It certainly had no effect upon his moral character. The same "untutored savage" he was, the same he remained. But the services he rendered to Catholicism were great, and they were appreciated. "God daily prostrated his enemies before him, because he walked before Him with an upright heart, and did what was pleasing in His eyes." In these words Gregory of Tours expresses the feelings of the Gallic clergy, who rallied round Clovis to a man, and excused all faults in one who could wield the sword so strenuously in behalf of the orthodox faith[2]. His subsequent career was a succession of triumphs: Gundebald the Burgundian king felt the vengeance of Clotilda's lord on the bloody field

[1] The words are variously given. In the *Historiens de la France*, T. III. p. 9, we have, "Mitis Sicamber, depone colla, idola varia crema, cultum venerare divinum." In Hincmar's *Vita Remigii* the words are, "Mitis depone colla Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti."

[2] Perry's *Franks*, p. 77. Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures*, I. p. 60.

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A.D. 507. *Victories of Clovis.*

of Dijon on the Ousche, and the cities on the Saone and the Rhone were added to the Frankish kingdom. A few more years, and the Visigothic kingdom in the South felt the same iron hand. The orthodox prelates did not disguise the fact that this was a religious war, and that the supremacy of the Arian or Catholic Creed in Western Europe was now to be decided[1]. Clovis himself entered fully into the spirit of the crusade; on approaching Tours he made death the penalty of injuring the territory of the holy St Martin; in the church of the saint he publicly performed his devotions, and listened to the voices of the priests as they chaunted the 18th Psalm, *Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued unto me those which rose up against me. Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me*[2]. Whether he understood the words or not, they seemed prophetic of the subsequent career of the new champion of Catholicism. The orthodox historians exhaust the treasury of legends to adorn his progress. A "hind of wonderful magnitude[3]" guided him through the swollen waters of the river Vienne; a pillar of fire blazed forth from the cathedral as he drew nigh Poitiers, to assure him of success. At last, the bloody plains of Vouglé witnessed the utter defeat of the Arian Goths, and Alaric their king was mingled with the crowd of fugitives. Bordeaux, Auvergne, Rovergne, Toulouse, Angoulême, successively fell into the hands of the Frankish king, and then before the shrine of St Martin the "eldest son of the Church" was invested with the titles of Roman Patricius and Consul, conferred by the Greek Emperor Anastasius[4].

We have thus sketched the rise of the Frankish monarchy because it has an important connection with the

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, I. 3.
[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Vol. I. 279.
[3] Michelet's *History of France*, I. 51. Greg. Turon. II. 37.
[4] Perry's *Franks*, p. 88. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Supplemental Notes, p. 7.

history of Christian missions. Orthodoxy advanced side by side with the Frankish domination. The rude warriors of Clovis, once beyond the local boundaries of their ancestral faith, found themselves in the presence of a Church which was the only stable institution in the country, and bowed before a creed, which, while it offered infinitely more to the soul and intellect than their own superstitions, presented everything that could excite the fancy or captivate the sense. Willingly, therefore, did they follow the example of their king, and for one that embraced the faith from genuine, a thousand adopted it from lower motives. And while they had their reward, the Frankish bishops had theirs too, in constant gifts of land for the foundation of churches and monasteries, and in a speedy admission to wealth and power.

Degeneracy of the Frankish Church.

But the Frankish Church was not destined to evangelize the rude nations of Europe. The internal dissensions, and constant wars of the successors of Clovis, were not favourable to the development of Christian civilization at home, or its propagation abroad. Avitus of Vienne, Cæsarius of Arles, and Faustus of Riez proved what might be done by energy and self-devotion[1]. But the rapid accession of wealth more and more tempted the Frankish bishops and abbots to live as mere laymen, and so the clergy degenerated, and the light of the Frankish Church grew dim. Not only were the masses of heathendom lying outside her territory neglected, but within it she saw her own members tainted with the old leaven of heathenism, and relapsing, in some instances, into the old idolatries[2]. A new influence, therefore, was required, if the light of the Frankish Church was to be rekindled, and the Germanic tribes evangelized. And this new influence was at hand. But to trace its origin, we must leave the scenes

[1] Neander, v. 4.

[2] Perry's *Franks*, p. 488.

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of the labours of Ulphilas and Severinus, for two sister isles high up in the Northern Sea almost forgotten amidst the desolating contest, which was breaking up the Roman world. We must glance first at the origin of the Celtic Church in Ireland and the Scottish highlands, whose humble oratories of timber and rude domes of rough stone[1] might, indeed, contrast unfavourably with the prouder structures of the West, but whose missionary zeal burnt with a far steadier flame. We must, then, turn to the shores of Kent, where the story of Clovis and Clotilda was to be re-enacted, and a Teutonic Church was destined to arise, and send forth, in its turn, missionary heroes amongst their kindred on the continent, not more zealous, perhaps, or more loving, but more practical and more judicious than their Celtic forerunners.

[1] Petrie's *Round Towers*, I. 158—193, and Mr Mure's *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 184.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, AND THE MISSION OF ST PATRICK.

A.D. 431—490.

Sed Deus vicit in me et restitit illis omnibus, ut ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes evangelium prædicare.—S. PATRICII *Confess.*

IT is not our intention to enter upon the vexed and difficult question how far Christianity had spread in Ireland during the first four centuries of our era. Without pressing the boast of Tertullian that parts of the British islands never visited by the Romans had received the faith; or the authorities collected by Archbishop Ussher[1], which would make us believe that the introduction of Christianity into the island was due to the labours of Apostles, we may accept it as certain that at a very early period Christian communities were established here, and that their introduction originated in the commercial relations which we know from Tacitus[2] obtained in the earliest times between Ireland and the continent of Gaul.

Mission of Palladius.

Whatever uncertainty, however, hangs over the dawn of Irish Christianity, begins to disappear about the middle of the fifth century. From the Chronicles of Prosper we learn that in the year A.D. 431, the attention of Pope Celestine was drawn to the wants of this distant island, and

A.D. 431.

[1] Tertullian, *Lib. adv. Judæos*, c. VII. Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* III. 7. Niceph. *Hist.* Lib. III. I. Ussher's *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. XVI. *Works*, VI. 286. Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, I. 2.

[2] *Vita Agricolæ*, c. 24

CHAP. III. A.D. 431.

that he dispatched hither a bishop named Palladius. But the words of the chronicler do not explain the precise object of his mission. "To the Scots believing in Christ," he writes, "Palladius ordained by Pope Celestine is sent as the first bishop[1]." These words are ambiguous, and have excited considerable discussion, on which we need not enter. Whether the purpose of the coming of Palladius was to preside over already existing Churches, or to check, as some have supposed, the inroads of the Pelagian heresy, it appears certain that he landed with twelve companions on the confines of Wicklow, and after some opposition, owing to the hostility of one of the Irish princes, succeeded in baptizing a few converts, and erecting three wooden churches[2]. But his stay was of no long duration; from some unexplained cause his work did not prosper, and he retired to Scotland with the intention of proceeding to Rome, but died some little time after at Fordun in Kincardineshire[3].

St Patrick.

But within a year he was followed by another missionary, who was destined to produce very different results. The form of the great "Apostle of Ireland" is almost lost in a halo of extravagant and miraculous legends. By some[4], in consequence, his very existence has been doubted; and to extract the truth from the mass of fable with which his life and labours have been well-nigh buried, is a work of considerable difficulty. In the following sketch we shall

[1] "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur." Prosper. *Chron.* A.D. 431. Bede, *H. E.* I. 13. Jaffe's *Regesta Pont. Rom.* p. 52. Innes' *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, I. 52.

[2] "Nathi, son of Garchu, refused to admit him; but, however, he baptized a few persons in Ireland, and three wooden churches were erected by him, [namely] Cell-Fhine, Teach-na-Romhan, and Domnach-Arta. At Cell-Fhine he left his books, and a shrine with the relics of Paul and Peter, and many martyrs besides. He left these four in these churches: Augustinus, Benedictus, Silvester, and Solinus." *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 129.

[3] Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, Gale, *Script.* XV. p. 94. Lanigan, I. 39. Innes, p. 65. Hussey n. in Bede, I. 13.

[4] See Schœll. *de Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ fontibus*, pp. 61—69.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 387?

confine ourselves as much as possible to the information derivable from authentic sources, the short treatise of St Patrick, entitled his *Confession*, his letter to Coroticus, and the canons of one or two councils assembled by him, and shall make but little use of the lives of the saint drawn up in an age of credulity by Probus and Jocelin[1].

His birth and early years.

The true name of the "Apostle of Ireland" was "Succath." He was born of Christian parents; his father Calphurnius was a deacon, his grandfather Potitus a priest[2]; though an ecclesiastic, Calphurnius appears to have held also the rank of Decurion[3], and may, therefore, have been of a Roman or provincial British extraction. The birthplace of the saint is uncertain, and has been hotly disputed. *Bonaven Taberniæ* is the locality mentioned by himself in his Confession, as the residence of his parents[4]. By Lanigan and Döllinger the place thus indicated has been identified with Boulogne in Normandy[5], while Archbishop Ussher, Ware, Innes, and other eminent authorities[6] place it in Scotland, and identify it with the present Kirkpatrick, between the castle of Dumbarton and the city of Glasgow. The weight of evidence seems to favour the latter conclusion, and of the various years, which have been assigned for his birth, the balance of authorities seems to point to A.D. 387 as the most probable[7].

[1] "Among the various monuments of his (St Patrick's) history," says Father Innes, "nothing appears to me a more proper voucher and more assured foundation to go upon, than the short writing called his Confession, which is generally esteemed his own work, is quoted by the ancientest authors of his life, and contains an account of him as an apostolical man, incomparably more answerable to that character than any one of his lives or all of them put together." *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 35. See also Gallandii *Prolegomena de S. Patricio*, and Gieseler, II. 81 *n.*

[2] "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri." S. Patricii *Confessio*, O'Conor's *Proleg. ad Hibern. Script.* I. cvii.

[3] "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem, decurione patre nascor." *Ep. ad Coroticum.*

[4] "Fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ. Villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi." S. Patricii *Confes.*

[5] Lanigan, I. c. 3. Döllinger, II. 21. King's *Primer*, I. 16.

[6] Ussher, *Works*, Vol. VI. 375. Ware, *Script. Hibern.* p. 101. Innes, p. 34.

[7] The intricate question is fully discussed in Lanigan, I. ch. 4.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 387?

His parents, as we have said above, were Christians, and from his Confession it would appear that the Gospel had been published and received to some extent in the neighbourhood of his father's home. Whatever amount, however, of instruction he may have received was rudely interrupted when he was sixteen years of age. The coasts of Scotland were at this time peculiarly exposed to the predatory excursions of Irish chieftains, who landed in their swift barks, ravaged the country, and having carried off as many as they could of the inhabitants, consigned them to slavery. In one of these expeditions the house of Calphurnius was attacked, and the future missionary with two of his sisters, and many hundreds of his countrymen, was carried away from his home, and conveyed to the North of Ireland. Here he was purchased as a slave by a chief named Milcho, who inhabited that part of Dalaradia[1], which corresponds to the present county of Antrim. The work assigned him was that of tending his master's flocks and herds, and in his Confession he has drawn an affecting picture of the hardships to which at this period he was exposed. As he wandered over the bleak mountains he was often drenched with rains, often numbed with the frosts. And being thus thrown back upon himself, he could find alleviation only in frequent prayer and meditation. The good seed sown in early years now sprang up, and the religious emotions he afterwards so eminently displayed began to stir within him. His period of servitude lasted six years, and during this time he would seem to have made himself acquainted with the language of the native tribes, and to have learnt their habits and modes of

is captivity.

.D. 403?

[1] On Dalaradia consult Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 339, and the note there from the *Four Masters*. In the latter annals we read, "A.D. 388 Milchuo, son of Hua Buain, king of North Dalaradia." "This was the master," says Reeves, "under whom St Patrick served; he is called in the Tripartite Life 'Milcho Buani filius Princeps Dalaradiæ.'" *Tr. Th.* p. 119.

life. At length either through the operation of an old law[1] which gave freedom to domestic slaves in the seventh year, or, according to his own account, in consequence of a dream warning him to prepare for his return, he succeeded in effecting his escape to the seaside; there he took ship and after a tempestuous passage regained his father's house. His stay, however, was but brief. In a second predatory excursion he again was taken captive, and again after a short interval made his escape.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 410?

Meditates the conversion of Ireland.

Had he listened to his parents he would now have settled down amongst them: but other ideas had filled his mind, and he heard voices bidding him "leave his own country and his father's house." "The divine response," he writes, "frequently admonished me to consider whence I derived this wisdom which was not in me, who neither knew the number of my days nor was acquainted with God; whence I obtained afterwards so great and salutary a gift as to know or to love God." During the weary hours, moreover, of his captivity he had often reflected how blessed it would be, if he, to whom it had been given to know the true God and His Son Jesus Christ, could carry the Glad Tidings he himself had heard in early years, to his master's people and the land of his exile. And now by dreams and visions the old desire was awakened afresh. "One night," to borrow his own words, "he had a dream, in which he thought he saw a man coming from Ireland, whose name was Victoricius, with a great number of letters. One of these he gave him to read, and in the beginning occurred the words, "the Voice of the Irish." While he was reading this letter, he thought he heard the voice of the people who lived hard by the wood of Foch-ladh, that is, of Hy-Amalgaidh now Tirawley, crying to him with one voice across the Western Sea, "We intreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us."

[1] Lanigan, I. chap. 4, note 43. Todd's Irish Nennius, 202-n.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 418?
His travels.

Obedient, therefore, to what he deemed a voice from heaven, and resisting the arguments and entreaties of his relatives and friends, who seem to have regarded his enthusiasm with little favour, he set out for the monasteries of Southern Gaul, there to prepare himself for the great work of preaching the Gospel in the land of his captivity. Amidst the conflicting legends which now follow him at every step, it seems certain that he repaired to the monastery of St Martin bishop of Tours, and submitted himself for some time to the strict discipline of that famous seminary[1]; that afterwards he studied with Germanus at Auxerre[2], and thence betook himself to one of the "islands of the Tuscan Sea," probably Lerins[3], where Hilary of Arles, and Lupus of Troyes had been educated. Returning thence to Auxerre, it is not improbable that he was actively employed for some little time in pastoral duties, having been successively ordained deacon and priest during his sojourn amongst the Gallic monasteries.

A.D. 429.

There is a tradition that in the year 429 he visited Britain in company with Germanus and Lupus, and assisted them in eradicating the Pelagian heresy[4], and on his return, he is represented by some writers as having been sent by Germanus to Celestine, together with Segetius, a priest, who bore letters recommending him to the Pope. That the attention of the Pope had been directed to the wants of the Irish Church is manifest from the mission of Palladius in 431. But the fact that he consecrated St Patrick bishop for the work of evangelizing the Irish is not to be met with in any lives, as Lanigan admits, except Jocelin's and the Tripartite[5]. It is not admitted even by the Bol-

[1] Lanigan, I. 156. Innes, p. 37.

[2] "Patrick went to the south to study, and he read the Canons with German (Germanus of Auxerre)." Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, edited by Dr Todd, Dublin, 1848.

[3] Lanigan, I. 174, *Acta SS. Mart.* 17. Innes, p. 37.

[4] Lanigan, I. 180.

[5] Lanigan, I. 192. See also Gieseler, II. 81 n.

landists or Colgan, and the absence of any allusion in the saint's Confessions to a consecration by Celestine, where he could hardly have passed it over, is no slight argument against its veracity. In the year 432, however, he would appear on good authority to have been ordained bishop in Gaul, and on hearing of the failure of the mission of Palladius[1], to have sailed for Ireland with Isserninus, Auxilius, and a few other fellow-labourers.

A.D. 432.

Lands in Ireland.

Landing, in the same year, somewhere on the coast of the present county of Wicklow, he and his companions were, at first, received with hostility, and were obliged to return to their boat, and seek a more favourable spot. Sailing northwards along the coast, they put in at Holm-patrick, where they stayed some time. After gathering a few converts in this neighbourhood, St Patrick repaired to the Bay of Dundrum, and landing with his companions advanced some little way into the interior. They had not gone far before they encountered a native chieftain named Dichu at the head of a band of men, who, mistaking their leader for the chief of one of the many pirate crews which then often appeared upon the coast, was on the point of putting him to death. But struck by the reverend appearance of the missionary, and seeing that he and his companions were unarmed, he stayed his hand, and hospitably received them at his house. In frequent interviews he now heard the doctrines of the faith, and was baptized with his whole family. He also bestowed upon his instructor the ground, on which his barn was erected; and here arose the celebrated church called *Sabhall Padruic*, "the barn of Patrick," the ruins of which may still be traced at Saul, in the county of Down. The

[1] In the *Book of Armagh* we read, "The death of Palladius among the Britons was soon heard of, for his disciples, i. e. Augustinus, Benedictus and the rest, returning, related in Ebmoria, the circumstances of his death." Sir W. Betham, *Researches*, p. 306. "It is more than probable that it was at Bray, Patrick landed." O'Donovan, *note* in *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 130.

CHAP. III. A.D. 433.

same chief became henceforth St Patrick's constant friend, and the spot, where he obtained a site for his first church, was always a favourite resort of the saint.

His Missionary tours in Dalaradia.

Leaving Saul, the missionary proceeded northward to Clanebois in Dalaradia, hoping to convert his old master Milcho. In this he was disappointed. Nothing would induce the old chief to receive the man who had been once his slave, or to forsake the paganism of his forefathers. His obstinate refusal has been exaggerated in the legends, and he is represented as having burnt himself, at the approach of the missionary, on a funeral pile, together with his family and his goods. His journey thus ineffectual, St Patrick once more took ship, and, returning to the district where Dichu resided, preached with success for some time in that neighbourhood. Thence sailing southward, he determined to visit the famous hill of Tara, where King Leogaire was about to hold a great religious festival, in the presence of all his tributary princes, his chieftains, and Druids. Accompanied by his favourite disciple, the boy Benignus, whom he had lately baptized, the saint went on his way thither, intending in this stronghold of Druidism to celebrate the approaching festival of Easter, and to preach the Gospel to the assembled chiefs. It was Easter-Eve when he reached the neighbourhood of Tara, and having erected a tent, he made preparations for spending the night with his companions, and kindled a fire, either, according to some legends, as a part of the Paschal solemnities, or simply for the purpose of preparing food. As the smoke curled upwards in the evening air, it was observed by the Druids in the king's tents, and caused the greatest consternation. To kindle any fire, during the solemn assembly of the chiefs, before the king had lighted the sacred fire in the palace of Tara, was a sin of the greatest enormity; and the Druids did not scruple to warn the king, "if that fire be not extinguished this night,

Preaches before the chiefs at Tara.

unto him, whose fire it shall be, shall belong the sovereignty of Ireland for ever[1]."

A.D. 433.

Opposition of the Magi.

It is possible that the Magi had heard of the strange doctrines which were now gaining ground in the British islands, and they hoped thus to alienate the monarch's mind against any preachers of the same. However this may have been, messengers were sent to discover the authors of the sacrilege, and to order them to appear before the king. When they presented themselves, instead of being put to death, their fearlessness won for them the attention of the king and his nobles. On the following day St Patrick again addressed the chiefs, and proclaimed the doctrines of the faith. Leogaire himself, indeed, did not profess to be a convert, but he gave permission to the man of God to preach the word on condition that he did not disturb the peace of the kingdom[2]. During the ensuing week, therefore, when the great public games were celebrated at Tailten, the missionary and his companions addressed themselves to the brothers of the king, and by one at least were so favourably received, that he professed himself a believer, received baptism, and is said to have given up the site of his own castle for a church.

Tours in Connaught, Mayo, and Ulster.

The impression thus made upon the chiefs was soon shared by their subjects, and though it is utterly impossible to arrange with accuracy the subsequent missionary tours of the saint, it is certain that in Westmeath, in Connaught, Mayo, and Ulster, whither he successively went, his labours were blessed with signal success. Once or twice[3], indeed,

[1] From the *Life of St Patrick* in the *Leabhar Breac*. Todd's *Life*, p. 184.

[2] Lanigan, I. 233. *Vita Tripart.* II. 8. It was on this occasion, when brought before the king, that he is said to have composed the hymn called *St Patrick's Armour*. See Petrie's *Tara Hill*, p. 67.

[3] "Whoever will read the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick*," says O'Donovan, "will find that the Pagan Irish made several attempts at murdering Patrick, and that he had frequently but a narrow escape. He will be also convinced that our modern popular writers have been guilty of great dishonesty in representing the labours of Patrick as not attended with much difficulty." *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 131.

CHAP. III. A.D. 434.

he was nearly being put to death through the opposition of the Druids, but the protection of the native princes stayed their intentions, and he was suffered to continue his work. Having destroyed the great idol Crom-Cruach[1], on the plain of Magh Slecht, he set out for Connaught, the scene of his greatest triumphs. At Tir-Amhalgaidh, in Mayo, he was met by the seven sons of the king, and in a full assembly before them and their people he proclaimed the message of the Gospel[2]. The young princes were on this occasion so affected by his earnestness and zeal, that they speedily submitted to baptism, and their example was followed by several thousands of their subjects[3].

Subject of his preaching.

So far as we can judge, it was not a merely nominal conversion of the people through their chiefs that he sought. He strove to plant deep the foundations of the Church. Instant in season and out of season, he repaired with his disciples and assistants wherever an opportunity of preaching the word presented itself, collected assemblies in the open air, read the Scriptures, and explained their contents. To the worshippers of the powers of nature, and especially the sun and other heavenly bodies, he proclaimed that the great luminary which "ruled the day" had no self-originated existence, but was created by One whom he taught them to call "God the Father." "Beside Him," said the missionary, "there is no other God, nor ever was, nor will be. He was in the beginning, before all things, unbegotten, and from Him all things take their beginning, both visible and invisible[4]." He told them next "of His only-

[1] O'Curry's *Lect.* p. 103.

[2] O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 310 *n.* and Addenda. Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 864. *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 141 *n.*

[3] "This conversion is mentioned in most of the lives of St Patrick, with more or less circumstances, and has been recorded by Nennius and other writers." Lanigan, I. 253. Döllinger, II. 23. "Duodecim millia hominum, in unâ regione Connatiâ ad fidem Christi convertit, et baptizavit: et septem reges (=Amalgaidi filios) in uno die baptizavit." Nennius.

[4] S. Patricii *Confessio*, O'Connor, *Script. Hibern.* I. pp. cviii, cxvii.

begotten Son, Jesus Christ, who had become man, had conquered death, and ascended into heaven, where He sat far above all principality and power, and whence He would hereafter come to judge both the quick and the dead, and reward every man according to his deeds." "Those" he declared "who believed in Him would rise again in the glory of the true Sun, that is, in the glory of Jesus Christ, being by redemption sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ, of Whom, and by Whom, and to Whom are all things. Through Him shall we reign; for the sun, which we see, rises at His bidding, for our sakes, day by day; but his splendour will never last or continue, and all his worshippers will suffer terrible punishment. We believe in and adore the *true Sun*, Jesus Christ. He will never wane or set, nor will any perish who do His will, but they shall live for ever, even as He liveth for ever, with God the Father Almighty, and the Holy Spirit, world without end." Such we may believe, from his *Confession*, was the Gospel he preached, and his words, confirmed and illustrated by his own intrepid zeal, ardent love, and sincere and devoted life, made a deep impression on the minds of the Celtic chiefs. With the religious enthusiasm deeply seated in the primitive Celtic character[1], their hearts were touched, and they welcomed the missionary, as, many years before, the people of Galatia had welcomed the Apostle of the Gentiles, and believed the word that he preached[2].

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 436.

In the year A.D. 439 the labours of St Patrick were lightened by the arrival of the bishops Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus, whom he had sent either to Gaul or

A.D. 439.

Arrival of Secundinus, Isserninus, and Auxilius.

[1] See Goldwin Smith's *Irish History and Irish Character*, pp. 26, 27.

[2] The *Annals of Ulster* record, at the year 438, the composition of the *Chronicon Magnum*, or *Scanchus Mor*, a body of laws, of which it is highly probable that St Patrick, assisted by one of the bards converted to Christianity, may have laid the foundation, revising such of the Pagan laws and usages of the country as were inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel." Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, pp. 47—54.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 445.

Britain to receive consecration. Their coming enabled him to extend the sphere of his operations, and he now undertook missionary tours in Ulster, Leinster, and Cashel. These continued for several years, and were spent in preaching, baptizing new converts, and erecting churches. Knowing well how much his own acquaintance with the native language[1] had contributed to his success, he laboured diligently to establish a native ministry wherever he went. Cautiously selecting from the higher classes, those whose piety and intelligence seemed to fit them for the work of the ministry, he established seminaries and monastic schools, where they were trained for this high employment. To these schools the young of both sexes flocked with extraordinary eagerness, and here they learnt the alphabet the missionary had invented for their instruction.

Letter to Coroticus.

It was probably while labouring somewhere in the south-eastern part of Munster, that the incident occurred which drew forth the letter, which has come down to us, wherein we see him endeavouring to check the nefarious system of piracy and slave-dealing from which he himself had suffered so bitterly[2]. A native prince, named Coroticus, though apparently professing Christianity[3], had set out either from Wales or Cornwall, and descending on the Irish coast, with a band of armed followers, had murdered several of the natives, and carried off a considerable number with the intention of disposing of them as slaves. This outrage was perpetrated in one of the districts where St Patrick had been baptizing, and on the very day after[4] the neophytes arrayed in white baptismal robes had re-

[1] "Etsi Latinam linguam dum Galliam et Italiam incoluit, didicit, assidue tamen Ibernis populis patriâ linguâ in concionibus et hortatibus loquutus est, tum et Ibernice scripsit Proverbiorum librum, grande opus de Iberniæ antiquitatibus, epistolas, et alia opuscula, quæ temporum injuria et clades absumpsit." Villanueva, p. 224.

[2] O'Conor's *Script. Hibern.* I. cxvii.

[3] Sir W. Betham's *Antiquities*, p. 276.

[4] "Postera die qua chrismati neophyti in veste candida, dum fides flagrabat in fronte ipsorum, crudeliter trucidati atque mactati sunt." *Ep. ad Coroticum*, O'Conor, I. cxvii.

ıived the chrism, and the rite of confirmation. Indignant at this cruelty, St Patrick wrote a letter[1], which he sent by one of his companions, requesting Coroticus to restore the baptized captives, and some portion of the booty. But his request being treated with contempt and scorn, he composed another circular epistle, in which, as "a bishop established in Ireland," he inveighs in the strongest terms against the cruelty of the marauding tribe and its chief. He contrasts his conduct with that of the Roman and Gallic Christians, who were in the habit of sending priests with large sums of money to ransom Christian captives from the power of the Franks, and concludes by threatening him and his followers with excommunication unless he make restitution, and desist in future from his marauding habits. What indeed was the result of this circular epistle is not known, but it is to be feared that the efforts of the Saint were not very successful. His lot was cast in troublous times, and it was easier to induce the various tribes to accept a nominal profession of Christianity, than to resist the temptation to trade in slaves; at any rate this inhuman traffic was in full activity in the tenth century, between England and the sister Isle, and the port of Bristol was one of its principal centres.

Further Missionary tours.

Meanwhile, after a sojourn of two years in the district of Louth, and parts of Ulster, St Patrick reached the district of Macha, a small territory, but containing the royal city of Emania, the residence of the kings of Ulster[2]. Here he was heartily welcomed by Daire, a wealthy chief, who made over to him a pleasant piece of ground on an eminence called *Druim-sailech*, or the "Hill of the Wil-

[1] "Misi Epistolam cum sancto presbytero, quem ego ex infantia docui cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgeretur de præda vel de captivis baptizatis quos ceperant; sed cachinnos fecerunt de illis." *Ep. ad Coroticum*, Lanigan, I. 296.

[2] "The remains of its earthen embankment exist under the name of *the Navan*, about two miles west of Armagh." *Vita S. Columbæ* by Adamnan, Ed. Reeves, p. 287 *n.*

CHAP. III.

A.D. 456.

lows[1]." The spot pleased St Patrick, and he determined to erect here a church, and a cloister for the clergy and the many ardent candidates for the monastic life who flocked to him from all sides, and of both sexes[2]. The foundations of the church were accordingly laid, and round it rose by degrees, the city of Armagh, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland, and here its founder spent the remainder of his life, only leaving it now and then to visit his favourite retreat at Saul, round which clustered the memories of his earliest labours, and of his first convert Dichu.

Early Irish Synods.

A.D. 456.

Here, too, when the see was established, having called to his aid the bishops Auxilius and Isserninus, who next to himself were best qualified for the work by age and long experience, he proceeded to hold several synods, and to make regulations for the general government of the Irish churches. The canons of two of these have been preserved; one of which is called simply the *Synod of St Patrick*, and the other the *Synod of Bishops, that is, Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus.* "Under the head of the former," says Dr Lanigan[3], "are some canons, which seem to have been enacted at a later period, or perhaps in some other country; but among the canons of the latter, with one or two exceptions, we meet with nothing to make us doubt that it was really held in Ireland, and by those bishops." They give us the idea of a church which had attained considerable maturity, they mention not only bishops, priests, and deacons, abbots, monks, and nuns, but inferior orders, such as the *ostiarii* and *lectores.* In reference to the discipline of the clergy they are very

[1] "The *Annals of Ulster* refer the foundation of Armagh to 444." O'Donovan in *Annals of Four Masters*, p. 143. The *Annals of the Four Masters* to 457.

[2] "Accepit ergo ab eo (Daire) S. Patricius prædium optatum et placitum sibi, et ædificavit in eo monasteria et habitationes religiosorum virorum; in quo loco jam civitas est *Ardmach* nominata sedes et episcopatus et regiminis Hiberniæ." Probus, III. 7. Lanigan, I. 314.

[3] Ibid. I. 331.

strict[1]. A clerk must not wander about from place to place; in a strange diocese he must not baptize, nor offer the Eucharist, nor discharge any spiritual function. A bishop, in like manner, must not presume to ordain in a diocese not his own, without the permission of its diocesan, but on the Lord's day he may assist in the offering of the Eucharist; a priest who has been excommunicated, may be again admitted to the communion, but can never recover his degree; if he come from Britain, he cannot be allowed to officiate without a letter of recommendation; if he receive another who has been excommunicated, both must suffer the same punishment. The sixth Canon directs the wife of a priest, when abroad, to appear veiled[2]; in the eighth we trace signs of the ancient combat of the "trial of truth;" "if a clerk," it enacts, "become surety for a heathen, and be deceived, he shall pay the debt; if he enter into the lists with him, he shall be put out of the pale of the Church[3]." The sixteenth lays a penance on those, who fall into any heathen practice, or from a desire to search into future events, have recourse to soothsaying, or the inspection of the entrails of beasts. Another expressly forbids any alms offered by pagans being received into the Church.

These canons indicate a certain amount of progress in the Church for which they are designed, and shew that the work of the missionary had begun to take root. This work he still continued; even in his retirement at Armagh, and Saul, he was still content to spend and be spent in behalf of the Church he had founded and loved so well, and which, though solicited again and again, nothing, not even the

[1] Spelman's *Concilia Orbis Britannici*, pp. 52, 53, Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 137, and *n*.

[2] "Quicunque Clericus... si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint, et *uxor ejus* si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur." Spelman, p. 52, Todd's *Irish Church*, p. 33. Ware, p. 19.

[3] "Clericus si pro gentili homine fidei jussor fuerit...si armis compugnaverit cum illo, merito extra ecclesiam computetur." Spelman, p. 52.

CHAP. III. A.D. 460—465.

wish to see his relatives, could induce him to leave. In his *Confession*, written when now advanced in years, and expecting "the time of his departure," he touchingly describes how he had often been requested to revisit his kinsmen according to the flesh, but how a sense of the spiritual bond to the flock he had begotten in Christ, ever retained him in Ireland. He wrote this treatise, he declares, for the sake of these his kinsfolk, that they, especially those who had opposed his advancement to the episcopate, might know how the Lord had prospered his work in the land of his captivity; he reviews his labours, and calls God to witness how he had sought the spiritual advancement of his people. And, indeed, making all due allowance for the circumstances of the times, his work had been no trivial one. He and his associates had made for themselves by the labour of their own hands, civilized dwellings amid the tangled forests, and the dreary morass. At a time when clan-feuds and bloodshed were rife and common, and kings rose and fell suddenly from their thrones, and all else was stormy and changeful, they had covered the island with monasteries, where very soon the Scriptures began to be studied, ancient books collected and read, and missionaries were trained for their own country, and, as we shall see, for the rest of Europe. Every monastic establishment was an outpost of civilization amidst the surrounding heathenism; and to reclaim the tribes from their superstitions, to revise their old laws and usages, was a work in which the Irish monks engaged, as the one object of their lives.

His death.

The Apostle of Ireland lived to a good old age, and the sunset of his life was calm and peaceful. It was while he was in retirement at Saul that he was seized with his last illness. Perceiving that his end drew nigh, and desiring that Armagh should be the resting-place of his remains, he set out thither, but was unable to continue the journey. Increasing weakness, and, as it seemed to him,

the voice of an angel, bade him return to the Church of his first convert, and there, after a short interval[1], the patron-saint of Ireland departed this life, leaving behind him the visible memorials of a noble work nobly done in a Church, which was for a long time the light of the West, being protected by native chiefs[2], and superintended by a numerous native clergy.

[1] On the vexed question of the date of St Patrick's death, see the arguments in Lanigan, I. pp. 355—363. He decides for A.D. 465, the generally received date is March 17, 493.

[2] On the gradual spread of Christianity among the native chiefs, see Lanigan, I. 394.

CHAPTER IV.

ST COLUMBA AND THE CONVERSION OF THE PICTS.

A.D. 480—597.

"Insula Pictorum quædam monstratur in oris
Fluctivago suspensa salo, cognominis Eo,
Qua sanctus Domini requiescit carne Columba."

CHAP. IV. A.D. 465—490.

BUT "though dead," the Apostle of Ireland still continued to speak in the unremitting energy of his successors. Benignus, the next metropolitan of Armagh, who had been in early youth attracted by the winning influence of St Patrick, and had been his most constant companion during the entire period of his mission, preached the Gospel in those parts of the country which his predecessor had not visited[1]. With a view to the further consolidation of the Church he set the example, which his successors Jarlath, Cormac, and Dubtach studiously followed, of increasing the number of schools and monastic foundations throughout the country[2]. Amongst these may be mentioned the schools of Armagh, of Fiech at Sletty, of Mel at Ardagh, of Moctha in Louth, of Olcan at Derkan, of Finnian at Clonard, of Comgall at Bangor, in the county of Down, all which were founded at various periods during the fifth and sixth centuries. Nor was provision wanting for such women as wished to give themselves up to a monastic life. Societies were formed, of which that of St Brigid at Kildare was the

Rise of Irish Schools.

[1] Lanigan, I. 374.

[2] Lanigan, I. 402, 403, and 464.

most celebrated[1]. Into these were admitted all who were approved, and they spent such time as was not devoted to prayer and psalmody, in visiting the sick and relieving the poor. Their clothing was coarse, their food of the simplest kind, and each member was bound by vows of celibacy which could not be violated on pain of excommunication. The foundress, sprung of an illustrious family, had fixed her convent at Kildare, or the "Cell of the Oak," at the earnest request of the men of Leinster, and the extraordinary veneration in which she was held attracted such a crowd of pilgrims, penitents and beggars to her cell, that a town rapidly rose up, and became the seat of a bishop, who presided over all the churches and communities belonging to her order, which spread on every side throughout the land.

Irish Missionary zeal.

Such establishments were in keeping with the spirit of the age, and the strictness of the monastic rule had charms not to be resisted. The system which had found ardent votaries in the Roman capital, had peopled the desolate Thebaid, and filled Jerome's cells at Bethlehem with devoted inmates, found equal favour with the enthusiastic Celts. Many even of the Irish bishops ordained, at this period, in unusual numbers[2], undertook the superintendence of a conventual house in addition to their own more peculiar duties. Thus the monastic organization was more extended than the parochial, and the abbot-bishop, who at first gathered around him a society, and erected his monastery amidst the woods and morasses, and cultivated the soil with his own hands, saw, before long, towns and cities spring up around his cell or church, and he was fain to undertake the spiritual government of the adjacent district[3]. And as they

[1] Cogitosi *Vita S. Brigid.* cap. XXXV, Colgan's *Tr. Th.* p. 523.

[2] Innes' *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 84, and Appendix A in Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 125.

[3] Todd's *History of the Irish Church*, p. 34. "Most of the ancient sees of Ireland appear to have had a monastic origin, the founders

CHAP. IV. A.D. 521.

were the heads of missionary outposts in their own country, they soon originated other centres of civilization, and the charity which began at home reflected its influence all the more abroad. The piety of the Irish monasteries did not stagnate in an unworthy unselfishness, but with a surprising steadfastness they copied the noble example of Ireland's Apostle, and sent forth many an ardent labourer into distant fields now "white unto the harvest."

St Columba.

Amongst those who thus went forth, few occupy a more prominent place in missionary annals than the founder of the far-famed monastery of Hy or Iona. Columba, or according to his Irish name, *Colum*, was born at Gartan, among the wildest of the Donegal mountains, in the year A.D. 521. His father Fedhlimidh was one of the clan, which occupied and gave name to the country round Gartan, and belonged to the royal families of Ireland and Dalriada. His mother Eithne was sprung from a Leinster family, which also claimed acquaintance with a powerful provincial chief. Enthusiastic biographers have related, how before his birth, his mother saw in a vision, a beautiful robe placed in her hands by an angel adorned with pictures of flowers of every hue, which after a while he took from her, and suffered to float in mid air; and as it floated, it grew more and more, till at length it covered all the mountains and country round, and there came a voice, saying, "Be not sorrowful, O woman, for thou shalt have a son who shall be as one of the prophets of God, and is foreordained by God to be the guide of innumerable souls to their heavenly home."

A.D. 521.

Legends of his early years.

His Baptism.

At his baptism by the presbyter Cruithnechan, the boy received the name of "*Colum*," to which was added after-

being either bishops, or presbyters who associated bishops with them in the government of their houses. But in such cases the memory of the founder was revered more as the father or first abbot than as bishop, and hence it was that the term *Coworba*, which was applied to a successor in the government of the institution, had reference to his abbatial, not episcopal office." Reeves' *Eccl. Antiq.* p. 136.

wards "*cille*," or "of the church," from his devotion to the "cell" where he first sojourned[1]. From Doire-Eithne, or "the Oak-forest of Eithne," a hamlet in Donegal, he was removed at an early age to the famous school of St Finnian of Moville[2]. Here his diligence won for him the approbation of his instructor, and he was promoted to the office of deacon[3]. Leaving the monastery of Finnian, he repaired to Leinster, and placed himself under an eminent Christian bard named Gemman. We next find him at the famous monastic seminary of Clonard, over which another Finnian presided[4]. The early years of his new teacher had been spent in Britain, in the society of the Welch saints David, Gildas, and Cadoc[5]; shortly after his return he established his monastic school at Clonard, which soon acquired an extraordinary celebrity, and was the resort of numbers of ardent students. An old writer, quoted in Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, has described St Finnian "as a scribe most learned to teach the law of God's commandments. He was most merciful and compassionate, and sincerely sympathized with the infirmities of the sick, and the sorrows of the afflicted." "In every work of mercy," he continues, "he was most ready with his assistance, and healed with mildness the mental and bodily ills of all who came to him. He exercised towards himself the strictest discipline, to leave others a good example, and abhorred all carnal and mental vices. His ordinary food was bread and herbs, his drink water; but on the festivals of the Church, he ate bread made of corn, and drank a cup of ale, or whey. His bed was not a soft and easy couch, but the bare ground, with a stone for his pillow. In a word, he was full of com-

His instructors.

[1] Dr Reeves' edition of Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, Pref. p. lxx. n.

[2] In Down. See Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, p. 151.

[3] "Et a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiæ studius, integritatem corporis...custodiens." *Vit.* Adam. p. 9.

[4] *Vita S. Columb.* II. 25, and Reeves' note.

[5] Lanigan, I. 464.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 521—540.

passion towards all other men, but of strictness and severity towards himself[1]."

His ordination.

With the concurrence of several prelates, the pupil of Finnian was sent to Etchen, an anchorite bishop of Clonfad in Westmeath, to be raised to the episcopal order[2]. According to an old legend, he was ploughing in the field when Columba came to his cell, and, on hearing the name of his visitor, gave him a hearty welcome, and a promise that the purpose of his errand should be granted. But by a mistake, not easy to understand, Etchen fixed on the wrong office, and instead of consecrating him a bishop, admitted him only to the order of the priesthood. He offered, the legend continues, on discovering his mistake, to rectify it, but this Columba declined, believing that it was a providential interposition.

Founds various monasteries.

Whether this was so, or whether the story is only a fiction of a later age, certain it is that Columba never rose higher than the order of the priesthood. After the period of study and contemplation was over, he was desirous himself of emulating the example of his instructor, and laid the foundations of a monastery, on a hill covered with oaks near Lough-Foyle. The site was given him by one of his relatives, a prince of the county, and here rose in process of time the city of Derry. This, however, was only the first of many cells and churches of which he was the founder. The most celebrated next to Derry was that of Dair-magh, or Durrow, in the diocese of Meath, of which Bede has made special mention[3]. In the foundation of this and his

[1] *Vita S. Finnian*, Colgan's *Act. SS.* p. 397, quoted in Todd's *History of the Irish Church*, p. 31.

[2] Colgan's *Tr. Th.* p. 397. Lanigan, II. 126. Todd's *Obits of Christ. Church*, p. liv. On consecration by a single bishop see Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 349. Johannes Major says of the consecration of Servanus by Palladius, "Ex isto patet quod episcopus in necessitate ab uno episcopo consecratur; et non est de episcopi essentia, quod a tribus ordinetur," quoted in Ussher, *Works*, VI. p. 212. Bingham, Book II. ch. x. 6, 7.

[3] Bede, III. 4. "Fecerat autem priusquam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus robo-

other cells Columba was diligently employed till the year A.D. 561, when he left Ireland on his famous mission to the highlands of Scotland. The precise occasion of his departure is involved in much obscurity. Later writers, whose single object was to extol the virtues of the saint, saw in it only the result of an ardent missionary spirit. But very early Irish traditions refuse to regard it in this light. They represent his withdrawal from his own country as a sort of penance imposed upon him, with his own consent, in consequence of a feud, which led to the battle of Cooldrevny, and which "is mentioned," remarks Dr Reeves[1], "by Adamnan in two instances, as a kind of Hegira in the saint's life." According to one tradition, this feud arose out of causes too quaint and characteristic of the times to be entirely passed by.

A.D. 561.

Legend of St Finnen's Psalter.

It would seem that on one occasion[2] Columba paid a visit to St Finnian at *Drom Finn* in Ulster, and borrowed his copy of the Psalter[3]. Anxious to retain a copy of the book, and yet afraid that Finnian would not suffer him if he made the request, he resorted to stratagem to effect his purpose. Every day he repaired to Finnian's church, and remained there till the people had all left, when he sat down and made a hurried transcription of the volume. The circumstance did not escape the notice of Finnian, but he resolved to say nothing about the matter till Columba had concluded his labours, when he sent to him and demanded the book, reminding him that as the original was his, so also was the copy which had been made without his permission[4]. Columba was very indignant, and refused out-

rum, cognominatur." Reeves' *Adamnan*, lib. III. 15. Lanigan, II. 118.

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 248. Appendix B. See also *Originales Parochiales Scotiæ*, Vol. II. p. 285. Innes' *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 149.

[2] O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 328. O'Donovan's *Notes on the Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 194.

[3] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 249.

[4] Colgan's *Tr. Th.* p. 409. "Causa utrinque audita Rex, seu partium rationes male pensans, seu in alteram privato affectu magis propendens, pro Finneno sententiam pronuntiat, et sententiam ipse Hibernico versu abinde in hunc usque diem inter

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A.D. 561.

right to comply. After some words, it was agreed to refer the dispute to Diarmaid, the king of Ireland. Accordingly the rivals repaired to Tara, and were admitted to an audience with the king. After hearing the case, Diarmaid gave the remarkable judgment which to this day is a proverb in Ireland; "*le gach boin a boinin*," said he, that is, "to every cow belongeth her little cow, or calf," and so to every book belongeth its son-book or copy; therefore the book you wrote, O Colum, belongs by right to Finnian. "That is an unjust decision, O Diarmaid," was Colum's reply, "and I will avenge it on you[1]."

Decision of King Diarmaid.

At this very time it so happened that the son of the king's steward and the son of the king of Connaught, who was a hostage of Diarmaid, were playing a game of hurling on the green before the king's palace. A dispute arose between them, in the midst of which the royal hostage struck his antagonist with his hurley, and killed him. Thereupon the young prince fled for sanctuary to Colum, who was still in the king's presence. But the latter ordered him to be dragged away, and he was put to death for having desecrated the precincts of the palace against the ancient law and usage. At this insult Columba was still more indignant, and having with difficulty escaped from the court, made his way to the mountains of his native Donegal. Here he was in the midst of relatives and friends, who took up his quarrel, and with the men of Tyrone and the king of Connaught, marched to Cooldrevny, between Sligo and Dromcliff, where a battle was fought, and Diarmaid was discomfited. After a while, however, he succeeded in

Battle of Cooldrevny.

Hibernos famoso in hunc modum expressit: *Le gach boin a boinin, acus le gach leabhar a leabhran*, id est, Buculus est matris, libri suus esto libellus." O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 328. *Four Masters*, I. 193.

[1] The MS. Psalter was returned to Columba, and was ever after known as the *Cathach*, (= "the Book of Battle,") and was preserved for ages in the family of O'Donnell: it is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 249. *Annals of the Four Masters*, I. 193. Sir W. Betham's *Antiquarian Researches*, I. 109.

making peace with Columba and his friends. But the saint's conscience would not forgive him for having been the cause of so much bloodshed, and he himself became the subject of ecclesiastical censure. A synod was summoned at Teltown, in Meath, and it was agreed that Columba, as "a man of blood," and the author of so great slaughter, ought to quit his country, and win over from the heathen to Christ as many souls as perished in the battle[1]. In this sentence, according to the legend, all present concurred except Brendan of Birr, who protested against it, and Finnian of Moville, the old instructor of Columba, who expressed his veneration for his former pupil[2].

Martial propensities of St Columba.

Whether this account has any substratum of truth, or is only to be regarded as the legendary creation of a later age, it is difficult to determine. The monastic biographers of the saint have naturally said little about the matter. Dr Reeves, the learned editor of *Adamnan*, admits "the martial propensities" of the great missionary of Iona, but he bids us remember the "complexion of the times in which he was born, and the peculiar condition of society in his day, which required even women to enter battle, and justified ecclesiastics in the occasional exercise of warfare." He admits also that "primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as saints, were very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury;" and he even thinks it possible that some current stories of the saint's warlike temperament may have suggested the somewhat guarded and qualified manner in which Bede speaks of him[3], and may have given a tinge

[1] "Post hæc in Synodo sanctorum Hiberniæ gravis querela contra Sanctum Columbam, tanquam authorem tam multi sanguinis effusi, instituta est. Unde communi decreto censuerunt ipsum debere tot animas, a gentilitate conversas, Christo lucrari, quot in isto prælio interierunt." Colgan's *Acta SS.* 645. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 251. For notice of other battles in which Columba is said to have been engaged see *Ibid.* p. 258.

[2] Reeves' *Adamnan*, Præf. lxxvii. See also O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, I. 193 *n.*

[3] "*Qualiscunque fuerit ipse*, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus, quia

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A.D. 563. *Sets out for Scotland.*

to some of the legends concerning his personal appearance. On whichever side the truth lies, certain it is that in the year 563 St Columba, now in his forty-second year, having collected twelve companions[1], took leave of his country, and in a wicker boat covered with skins made for the western coast of Scotland.

It is possible that the provincial king of Kintyre and Argyle may have invited him to his kingdom, for he was allied to him by blood, and it was not a strange country to which he now retired. About sixty years before, a portion of the family of Eirc, chief of the Irish Dalriada, had passed over with a considerable body of followers to the nearest part of Argyleshire, where they had settled, and founded the kingdom of British Scotia, or Dalriada[2]. As yet the colony had not acquired much strength, or pushed its dominions far beyond its original boundaries, and Bruide, the chief of the Picts, was a prince of considerable power, and could bring a formidable force to engage in the constant wars of which Scotland was at this time the theatre. These wars gave the people but little leisure for agricultural pursuits, and their chief occupation consisted in pasturing their flocks and herds. Numbering, it has been thought[3], scarcely more than twenty thousand, or about half the present population of Glasgow, they were scattered at distant intervals over the country, the central district of which consisted of one vast forest, called the "Caledonian wood," abounding in enormous wild boars and formidable packs of wolves. The rest of the country was bare and mountainous, and

reliquit successores magna continentia ac divino amore regularique institutione insignes." *H. E.* III. 4.

[1] Their names are given in Dr Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 245 and 299, and the *Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ*, Vol. II. 285.

[2] See the Dean of Lismore's *Book of Ancient Gaelic Poetry*, p. xxiv. and *Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ*, Vol. II. Part I. "The territory occupied by this settlement consisted of the districts of Cowall, Kintyre, Knapdale, Argyll-proper, Lorn, and probably part of Morvern with the islands of Isla, Iona, Arran, and the small islands adjacent."

[3] Cunningham's *Scotland*, I. 47. See Gibbon, III. 266.

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covered to a great extent with impassable fens, through which even the natives could with difficulty force their way. For the coast, then, of Argyle St Columba shaped his course, and on Pentecost Eve cast anchor in one of the rocky bays of Iona[1], an island about three miles long, and a mile broad, and separated by a narrow strait from the Ross of Mull[2]. Situated on the confines of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms, and subject in a measure to the chiefs of both, it seemed to afford a convenient basis of missionary operations among both people. The Scots, indeed, were Christians in name, but the Northern Picts were still sunk in paganism, and their conversion became the grand object of the missionary's ambition.

A.D. 563. *Arrives at Ily.*

His first care, therefore, was to obtain a grant of the island, and when this was freely conceded by Conall[3], the chief of British Dalriada, he proceeded to erect a monastery on the model, doubtless, of that which had already been raised by his hands under the oaks of Derry. It was of the simplest character, consisting of a number of small wattle-built huts, surrounding a green court. It included, as we gather from incidental notices in *Adamnan*, a chapel, a dwelling-house for the abbot and his monks, another for the entertainment of strangers, a refectory, and kitchen, and outside the trench a rampart[4], a byre for the cows, a barn and storehouse for the grain, and other outbuildings. All these were constructed of timber or wattles.

Erects a monastery.

Over this little establishment Columba presided. He was the abbot[5], the "father" of the society, and his authority extended to all such similar societies as he either had

[1] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, Vol. II. p. 285.

[2] See the *Topographia Hyensis* in Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 413.

[3] Innes' *Civil and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 151. *Orig. Paroch.* II. 299.

[4] Bede, *H. E.* IV. 28, describes the monastic vallum (called a *cashel*) of St Cuthbert's little monastery in Farne. See also *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. 17.

[5] Abbot, *abbas*, or *pater*, or *sanctus pater*, or *sanctus senior*, and in the founder's case *patronus*. *Adamnan* passim.

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founded in Ireland, or might found in the country of his adoption. In ecclesiastical rank he was a presbyter, he officiated at the altar in the little chapel, and pronounced the benediction, but did not usurp the functions of a bishop[1]. The rest of the community were his "family," his "children;" at first, as we have seen, they were twelve in number, and his companions from Ireland, but before long they received numerous accessions, and included Britons and Saxons. Living together under a common rule, they were to cultivate the virtues of obedience, humility, and chastity, to regard one another as fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ, and their life as a continual warfare in Christ's cause[2].

The Columbian Rule.

Their Rule[3] required of them that morning and evening they should repair to the oratory, and join in the sacred services. Every Wednesday and Friday, except in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday was a fast-day, and no food was taken till the *nona*, except on the occasion of the arrival of a stranger, when the rule was relaxed that they might indulge their national hospitality. The intervals of devotion were employed in reading, writing, and labour. Diligence was inculcated by the exhortations and life of the founder, of whom his biographer says that he allowed no hour to pass during which he was not engaged in prayer, or reading, or writing, or some other employment. "Reading" included chiefly the study of Holy Scripture, especially the Psalter, which was diligently

[1] "Qui non episcopus, sed presbyter exstitit et monachus." Bede, *H. E.* III. 4. "But there were at all times bishops connected with the society resident at Hy or some dependent church, who were subject to the abbot's jurisdiction, and were assigned their stations, or called in to ordain, very much as the bishops of the *Unitas Fratrum* of the present day, being looked upon as essential to the *propagation* rather than the maintenance of the Church." Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 341.

[2] Reeves, p. 339. Conventual life was with them a "militia Christi," they themselves were *Christi milites*; each one professed his willingness to enter the world only as an *athleta Christi* in the propagation of the Gospel. Bede, III. 3.

[3] St Columba's rule is published by Dr Reeves in Colton's *Visitation of Derry*, p. 109.

committed to memory; and besides this, that of books in the Greek and Latin languages[1], and the lives of some of the saints. Writing was the subject of especial attention. St Columba was distinguished for his devotion to this occupation, and the Books of Kells and Durrow are wonderful specimens of the perfection which his followers acquired in the arts of transcribing and illuminating service-books and manuscripts. Active labour was also required of every member of the little community; he learnt to till the ground, to sow the corn, to store the grain, to milk the cows, to guide the skiff or coracle on the stormy sea.

Personal appearance of St Columba.

In each and all these employments the abbot set an eminent example to the society which he had formed on the sea-girt isle. He had many natural gifts which fitted him for his arduous work. Tall of stature, of a vigorous and athletic frame, of a ruddy and joyous countenance, which, as Adamnan has it, made all who saw him glad, he attracted the hearts of all. He was celebrated also for the powers of his voice, which could be heard, according to his biographer, at an amazing distance[2], and for a practical turn, which enabled him to render aid when required

[1] "Of Classical MSS. belonging to the Irish school, it will suffice," says Dr Reeves, "to mention two: the one of Horace, *Codex Bernensis* N. 363, 4to, sæc. viii. exeuntis, vel ix. ineuntis, *Scotticè scriptus:* antiquissimus omnium quotquot adhuc innotuerunt, et ordine carminum a reliquis mire discrepans." Orellius, Horatii *Opp.* Præf. The other is Priscian: "Grammatica Prisciani *Scotticè* scripta. Codex eximius ordinateque scriptus, qui ob notas interlineares et marginales idiomate et characteribus Scotticis in Europâ sine dubio celebre nomen obtinebit." Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.* Præf. p. xix. "Adamnan's two remaining Latin works give proofs of his classical attainments, and Cummian's *Paschal Epistle* is a remarkable specimen of the ecclesiastical learning of the day." Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 353. As to writing, Giraldus Cambrensis says of the Book of Kells, "Hæc equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis obstupeo semperque magis ac magis admiranda conspicio." *Topog. Hiberniæ*, II.c. 38.

[2] "Aliquando per quatuor stadia, hoc est quingentos passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est, mille passus, incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur." *Vita S. Columbæ*, I. 37. In this respect the abbot was not unlike the celebrated Edward Irving, of whom it is similarly said that "his voice could be heard half a mile off, and his sentences could be followed at the distance of a quarter of a mile." See Mrs Oliphant's *Life of Edward Irving*.

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in any emergency. He could bale the boat, grind the corn in the quern or handmill, administer medicine to the sick, and superintend the labours of the farm.

Success of the Mission.

When we add to this, that he was of a princely family, we cease to wonder at the influence he rapidly gained over Conall and the other Dalriadic chiefs. Having laid the foundations of his monastic establishment, he set out for the mainland, and sought an interview with the Pictish chief. The latter lived at this time not far from the river Ness, at a spot now identified with *Craig Phadrick*, about two miles south-west of Inverness[1]. Like the pagan master of the Apostle of Ireland, Bruide was exceedingly loath to encounter the missionary, and closed his gates against him. But Columba and his companions Comgall and Cainnech made their way to the king's residence, a humble log-hut, in all probability, with a rampart of uncemented stones; and the sign of the cross had no sooner been made by Columba than, according to his biographer[2], the gate flew open of its own accord, and admitted the missionary into the presence of the king. Alarmed at this unexpected occurrence, the Pictish chief received his visitor with due reverence, and in spite of all the influence of the Druids to put down the new comer, he agreed to befriend him and aid him in his work, by uniting with Conall in consenting that the island of Hy should be made over to Columba and his companions as the site of a monastic institution, whence his missionary operations might be securely carried forward.

[1] Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 151 *n*. "Venit (S. Columba) Britanniam regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni hujus." Bede, *H. E.* III. 4.

[2] *Adamnan*, II. 35. "The Irish written language was brought over to Scotland in the sixth century by Columba and his clergy, who introduced it, with Christianity, among the Cruinthne; where, however, the native dialect must have received some cultivation, as we find that he was opposed by Magi, which implies a literary class among the Pagan Cruinthne." Dean of Lismore's Book, p. xxvi.

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Thus successful, Columba returned to the island, and the monastic buildings rose in security, and continued to be his head-quarters for a space of thirty-four years. No spot could be more suited than the island for his missionary tours; from it he could easily either make his way himself to the mainland, or direct the numerous bands of labourers who left their wattled cells to preach the word amongst the fastnesses of Pictland[1].

Conversion of the Picts.

It is to be wished that his biographer Adamnan had described these tours with greater precision, and had been at more pains to describe the actual missionary work of the saint, than to record the numerous miracles which have been ascribed to him. From the hints, however, scattered up and down his work we gather that Columba frequently visited the institutions he had founded North of the Grampians[2], that aided by devoted followers he preached the word wherever he could find an ear to listen, erected the humble church, left one or more of his own band to carry on the work, and so passed on sowing the seed[3]. But not content with penetrating Scotland from sea to sea, he and his companions courted new dangers and yet greater hardships. Committing themselves to their boats of skin, they braved the Northern Seas, and carried the Cross into the distant Hebrides and Orkney isles. A monastery was founded at Hymba[4], over which Columba placed his maternal uncle Ernan; another in Ethica[5]; a third arose at Elena, or Elachnave, "the holy island;" at Skye also he spent some time,

[1] Thus Macharius or Mochonna was sent by Columba with twelve companions to the Picts. "Plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus (sc. Columbæ) et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt." Bede, *H. E.* III. 4.

[2] See *Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ*, II. 286.

[3] Sometimes we read of his preaching the word *per interpretatorem*, as in *Adamnan*, I. 33, II. 33, which points to a diversity of Gaelic and Pictish: on other occasions, II. 14, 33, 34, he needed no such assistance.

[4] *Hymba.* See Reeves' notes on *Adamnan*, I. 45, II. 24, III. 5, 17. One of his chief monasteries among the Picts was at Abernethy in Strathearne. Innes' *Civil and Eccl. History*, 189.

[5] *Ethica*, Lanigan, II. 168. *Adamnan*, I. 19, II. 18.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 563—574.

and erected a monastery and a church, and memorials of his visits still remain in the bay of *Loch Columkille*, and the isle called *Eilean Columkille*[1]. Wherever his disciples went, they carried the fame of their great teacher, and, like bees from a hive, spread forth far and wide, opening up everywhere a fresh centre of missionary enterprise and of civilization amidst the surrounding heathenism. Nor while labouring on the Scottish mainland and amongst the many Western Isles, the "Polynesia" of the missions of that day, did the abbot forget the communities he had established amongst the oaks of Derry and Durrough. His thoughtful anxieties were often occupied with the welfare of the sister churches, and visitors frequently crossed over to Iona, and while there entertained with peculiar hospitality, discussed with the saint the affairs of the churches, and received from him advice and instruction.

A proof of the ascendancy he had gained over the chiefs was afforded on the death of Conall the Dalriadian king, in the year A.D. 574. He was succeeded by his cousin Aidan, and the new king selected Columba to perform the ceremony of inauguration, which took place in the monastery of Iona[2]. In the following year, he accompanied the newly-elected chief to the Council of Druimceatt in Ireland. Two important points were here to be discussed. The first concerned a dispute between Aidan and the sovereign of Ireland respecting the right of possession to the territory of Dal-aradia, or portions of the county of Antrim. Aidan claimed the territory as an hereditary right, on the ground of his descent from Caibre Riada. The Irish monarch asserted his authority over the whole island, and resented the

A.D. 574. *Council of Druim-ceatt.*

A.D. 575.

[1] See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 139. *Orig. Paroch.* Vol. II. 354.

[2] *Adamnan*, III. 5. Martene treating "de solemni Regum benedictione," has the following observation on this incident; "Antiquissima omnium, quas inter legendum mihi reperire licuit, ea est quæ a Columba abbate Hyensi facta est jussu angeli in Aidanum Scotorum regem." *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritib.* II. 10.

idea that a foreign prince should enjoy sovereignty in any part of his dominions. The second cause of discussion arose from the overgrown power and degeneracy of the bardic order. How influential this order was we have already seen. The people never tired of listening to their praises of the national valour, or the heroic deeds of some national hero. And the bardic order, strong in their own numbers and the popular affection, did not scruple to defame and lampoon all that gave them any cause of annoyance, or failed to seek their goodwill by costly presents. The consequence was, that many of the influential chiefs, stung by their satirical verses, clamoured for the suppression of the order, and their banishment from the kingdom. Both these points were, therefore, referred for settlement to the Council of Druimceatt. And first the matter in dispute between the two kings was submitted for arbitration to Columba, who declined to give an opinion himself, and referred the assembled chiefs to Colman, an ecclesiastic famed for his legal knowledge. He gave his decision in favour of the Irish monarch, and asserted his right to exact tribute from the Dalriadic province. This, settled to the satisfaction of all, the question of suppressing the bardic order was submitted to the council. And here the great influence of Columba was used in mediating between the exasperated chiefs and the offending bards. Not only fond of poetry, but a poet himself, he ventured to intercede in their behalf, and pointed out the difficulty of exterminating an order so strongly supported by national feeling. He proposed instead that their number should be lessened, and that they should be placed under strict restraints, and so for the future controlled. After some dispute this proposal was carried, and the bardic order was preserved.

Regulations respecting the bardic order.

When the council had broken up, Columba repaired to the monasteries he had founded before his departure for Scotland. His stay appears to have extended over a con-

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 580.

St Columba's later years.

siderable period, which he employed in inquiring into the welfare of the various religious houses, and arranging matters of discipline and ritual. After the year 580, when the saint became involved in a dispute with St Comgall of Bangor about jurisdiction, and which resulted in the battle of Coleraine between their respective kinsmen, the details of his life are involved in considerable obscurity. It seems probable that he returned to Hy, but revisited Ireland at some period subsequent to the year 585; this last voyage back to his island-home was not unattended with danger. His boat was caught in the eddies of "Brecan's Cauldron," off the coast of Antrim, and he was near meeting the fate of the grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who gave his name to this "gulp of the sea," as the natives called it. Safe once more in Hy, he busied himself with superintending the labours of his monastic brethren till the year 593, when a sudden sickness, or, as his biographer states, a heavenly mission, warned him that his life was drawing to a close. Four years more, however, were allowed him, and were devoted to reading, study, and prayer. At length the day came when he must quit his little band of labourers for ever. For some time he had had presentiments of its approach, and had conversed on the subject with one of his most intimate friends amongst the brethren, and now he looked forward to his speedy release with the consciousness of one who felt that he had "finished his course," and "kept the faith," and might look humbly for his crown. One Saturday he had gone with one of the brethren to the barn where the corn had been stored, and thanked God that He had provided for the wants of the brotherhood, and that for this year at least there would be no lack of food, though he himself would not share it with them[1]. Then, perceiving the sorrow of his companion, he continued, "This day is in the sacred Scriptures called *Sab-*

[1] *Adamnan*, III. 23.

batum, or *Rest*. And truly will it be a day of Rest to me, for this day I shall bid farewell to the toils of my life, and enter into the rest of heaven. For now my Lord Jesus Christ deigns to invite me, and to Him shall I at midnight depart." Together the two then ascended a little hill, which stood above the monastery, and there lifting up both his hands to heaven, the saint bestowed upon it his last blessing. Descending, they entered the little wattled hut, and the saint began to transcribe the thirty-fourth Psalm[1]; but on coming to the words in the eleventh verse, "*They who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good*," he remarked that he had come to the end of a page, and to a place where he might well stop. "The next words," said he, '*Come, ye children, hearken unto me*,' belong rather to my successor than to me." Then, rising, he went to vespers, and when they were ended, returned to his cell, and sent his last exhortation by his friend to his disciples, urging them to mutual love and good will, and expressing his hope of meeting them hereafter. The night wore on, and on the turn of midnight, as the bell rang for matins, he rose and went to the chapel, and knelt down before the altar in prayer. The lights had not as yet been brought in, but he was supported by his faithful disciple till the rest of the brethren entered, who no sooner saw what was rapidly drawing nigh, than they set up a bitter cry, and burst forth into lamentation. But Columba looked upon them with cheerfulness, and tried to raise his right hand, as if to bless them. His voice failing, he could only make the accustomed sign, and with his hand lifted up in blessing, he breathed his last, on the morning of

His death.

[1] The thirty-third in the vulgate. Ps. xxxiii. 10, or xxxiv. 11. In Adamnan, it is cited thus, "Inquirentes autem Dominum non *deficient* omni bono." On Adamnan's use of the Anti-Hieronymian Latin text, see Lanigan, *E. H.* II. 247, *n.* 225. Similarly, in the same chapter, Adamnan cites Prov. xv. 13, thus, "*Corde lætante vultus floret*," which in the Vulgate runs "*Cor gaudens exhilarat faciem*."

CHAP. IV. A.D. 597.

Sunday, June the 9th, 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

It may be thought that we have lingered too long over the life of this eminent missionary. But the founder of the far-famed monastery of Hy deserved more than a passing notice. A worthy successor of the Apostle of Ireland, he stands forth as at once the type and the forerunner of that zealous, enthusiastic, missionary zeal which made the name of "Scotsmen" a household word on the European continent during the sixth and three following centuries. Shut out from the influence of the great Church on the banks of the Tiber, by a barrier of Arianism, no less than by the physical barrier of the Alps[1], and unaffected, at least for many years, by the Teutonic invasions which devastated the English shores, the Churches of St Patrick and Columba developed their peculiar institutions in peace and quietness. Safe in their seclusion, the Columbian monasteries rose on all sides with great rapidity, and were filled with inmates in extraordinary numbers. Thus the monasteries of St Finnian of Clonard, St Comgall of Bangor, could muster three thousand each, and Bede estimates the members of the Welsh Bangor at two thousand one hundred[2], to say nothing of other smaller institutions. Their labours not only consolidated the efforts of previous missionaries in their own county, but attracted pupils to their schools from every part of Europe, and furnished hosts of missionaries, ready at a moment's warning to go forth, with a zeal which no difficulties could daunt, whithersoever an opening was presented for their labours. For the present we must leave them, and turn to another centre of missionary zeal. But in the course of our narrative we shall often encounter the disciples of Columba again. We shall find them restoring

[1] See an able article on "Scots on the Continent in the Early Middle Ages" in the *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1862.

[2] Bede, *H. E.* II. 2.

istianity in Saxon England and Roman Germany, ckening the flame of Christian civilization in North- France, and reproducing the monasteries of Hy and disfarne at Luxeuil and Bobbio; we shall see them comed in the palace of Charlemagne, and we shall ıe upon their track even in the distant and ungenial land. Thus when Roman civilization had sunk in an ss of decrepitude, and while as yet the great Teutonic vement was in its infancy, the Providence of Him who with His Church "even unto the end of the world," ed up men to fill up the gap and to hand on the torch ruth.

CHAPTER V.

MISSION OF ST AUGUSTINE TO ENGLAND.

A.D. 596—607.

"Pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desiderantes velle converti, sed sacerdotes e vicinio negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere."—GREGORII MAGNI *Epist.*

CHAP. V.

A.D. 580.

Anglo-Saxon mission.

WHILE the Celtic Church in Ireland and Scotland was thus consolidating her conquests at home, and preparing for her missionary labours on the continent, efforts were made in a very different quarter to reclaim to Christianity and civilization the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England. About twenty years before the death of the great abbot of Iona, a well-known incident had taken place in the forum of Rome. We need not repeat a tale familiar to every child. Who has not heard of the fair-haired Yorkshire boys exposed there for sale by the Jewish slave-merchant, and of the large-hearted monk of the monastery of St Andrew on the Cælian Hill, who, as he passed by, asked their name and country? It was a casual meeting, indeed, but the sight of those children led to events fraught with important consequences to their remote and barbarous home. Barbarous, in truth, it was at this period. Thick darkness had again settled over the island which the arms of Cæsar had revealed to his countrymen, and England seemed again to have become a savage nation, shut out from the rest of the world. The traces, indeed, of the Roman conqueror still remained in the great works, the

roads, the bridges, the towns, the baths, the temples, which ever marked the advance of the Iron kingdom; and in the hill-countries of Wales and Cornwall, and the highlands of Scotland, still lingered the disciples of that early British Church whose origin has been variously ascribed to St Peter or St Paul, to St James or Simon Zelotes, to Aristobulus or Joseph of Arimathæa.

The Saxon Invasions.

Hither as to a last resting-place they had fled from the Teutonic invader, who had come from the dark forests of Northern Germany and the shores of the Baltic, where the sound of the Gospel had never yet been heard. Slowly and surely he had made his way; and amidst the long years of implacable hostility between the conquering and the conquered races, it is not surprising that present suffering and perhaps the antipathies of race deterred the British Christian from enlightening the paganism of his invader.

Gregory the Great.

This work was reserved for the monk of St Andrew, whom we have just now mentioned. He had conceived the idea of undertaking it in person, and had actually accomplished three days' journey towards this distant land, when he was overtaken by the messengers, whom a furious mob had compelled the Pontiff to send and recall him to their city. From that day he was not suffered to return to his monastery. His energy and knowledge of human nature had marked him out as no ordinary man. Entrusted with a political mission to Constantinople, he learnt to reconcile Emperors, and disputed with Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople. Abbot, ambassador, controversialist, he returned to Rome to be raised by the voice of an enthusiastic people, in a season of pestilence and famine, to the Pontifical chair[1].

Sep. 3, A.D. 590.

But he had never forgotten that moving sight in the Roman slave-market, or the country of those fair-haired

[1] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I. 438. Ed. 1.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 595.

boys; and five years after his elevation to the Popedom he found an opportunity of carrying out his designs.

Marriage of Ethelbert and Bertha.

In the year 568 Ethelbert, a prince of the house of the Œscings, succeeded to the kingdom of Kent, and before long took up a high position among the princes of the island. The proximity of Kent to the continent had been favourable to the maintenance of the old connection between Britain and Gaul; and about the year 570 Ethelbert married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris. It had been agreed, as a condition of the marriage, that the queen should be allowed to enjoy the free exercise of her religion, and she had been attended to the Kentish court by a French bishop, named Luidhard. It is a proof of Ethelbert's tolerant spirit that he allowed her chaplain to celebrate the worship of the Christian's God in the little church of St Martin, a relic of Roman-British times, outside the walls of Canterbury; and it is only probable that Bertha, who must often have heard what a Clotilda had been able to effect with a Remigius by her side, should have endeavoured, during a union of twenty years, to influence her husband even more strongly in favour of the Gospel. When such were the feelings of the court, it is not surprising that many of the people of Kent, whose own heathen hierarchy had sunk into insignificance, would be anxious to receive some instruction in the religion of their queen. That they made application to the Frankish bishops for missionaries, is a fact we learn from Gregory's letters[1], and it was, probably, intelligence of this, which determined him in the year 596 to make another attempt to carry out the work which he had been prevented executing in person.

[1] See Greg. *Epp.* VI. 58. "Pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam Deo miserante *desideranter velle converti*, sed sacerdotes e vicinio negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere." Lappenberg, I. 131. Kemble's *Saxons in England*, II. 356.

CHAP. V.

A D. 596.

Accordingly he wrote to the presbyter Candidus[1], administrator of the patrimony of St Peter in Gaul, directing him to buy up English youths of seventeen or twenty years of age, that they might be trained in different monasteries and become missionaries in their native land; and in the following year he sent forth a band of forty monks from his own monastery on the Cælian hill, headed by their Prior Augustine, to commence a direct mission in England.

Letter to Candidus.

In the summer, therefore, of 596, Augustine and his companions set out, and crossing the Gallic Alps, reached the neighbourhood of Aix in Provence. Here, like John Mark, when confronted with the "perils of robbers" and "perils of rivers" in the interior of Asia Minor, the little band began to repent of their enterprise, and to sigh for the security of their cells on the Cælian hill. The accounts they received of the savage character of the Saxons filled them with alarm, and they prevailed on Augustine, who had been already marked out as the bishop of the future English Church, to return to Rome, and obtain for himself and his companions a release from their arduous task[2].

Mission of Augustine.

But Augustine had to deal with a man who lived up to the stern rule of the Benedictine order, who had learnt to crush all human weakness, and to recognise no call but that of duty. He was forthwith sent back with the often-quoted letter to "the timid servants of the Lord," wherein they were urged to accomplish what by God's help they had undertaken, to suffer neither the toils of the journey nor the tongues of evil-speaking men to deter them, but to remember that the more arduous the labour, the greater would be the eternal reward.

Thus urged by an authority they could not resist,

Landing of the Missionaries.

[1] See Greg. *Epp.* VI. 7. Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, I. 21.

[2] Bede, I. 23. "Nec mora, Augustinum, quem eis episcopum ordinandum si *ab Anglis susciperentur* disposuerat, domum remittunt."

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A.D. 597.

after the lapse of a year, the missionaries slowly bent their steps from Aix to Arles, from Arles to Vienne, thence to Tours, and so through Anjou to the sea-coast. Then, having provided themselves with interpreters from amongst the Franks, they set sail and landed at Ebbe's Fleet, in the Isle of Thanet. Once safe on what was then a real island, they sent messengers to Ethelbert to announce that they had come from Rome, that they were the bearers of joyful tidings, and could promise him glory in heaven, and a never-ending kingdom with the living and true God.

Conduct of Ethelbert.

The king, as we have seen, must often have heard of the doctrines of Christianity from his queen and her chaplain[1], and his predisposition towards the new religion had, in some measure, induced Gregory to send the missionaries who had just landed. But he still hesitated; and with characteristic caution, while he announced his readiness to receive them, he begged they would for the present remain on the other side of the Stour, and would abstain from entering Canterbury, and stipulated further that their first interview should not take place under a roof, but in the open air, for fear of the magical arts, the charms and spells he fancied they might exercise upon him.

Conference with the King.

Accordingly the Saxon king repaired to the island, and there under an ancient oak awaited the coming of the strange preacher from the famous city of the West. To make a deeper impression on the monarch's mind, Augustine, following probably the example of his master, Gregory, advanced in solemn procession, preceded by a verger carrying a silver cross; then followed one bearing aloft on a board, painted and gilded, a representation of the Saviour. Then came the rest of the brethren, and the choir headed by Laurence and the deacon Peter, who chanted a solemn Litany for their own, as also for the eternal welfare of the people amongst whom they had come. Arrived in the

[1] From Pagi, in Baron. x. 619, we gather that Luidhard was now dead.

king's presence, the latter bade them seat themselves on the ground[1]; he himself could not understand Latin, and Augustine could not speak Anglo-Saxon; so the Frankish priests interpreted, while the missionary explained the meaning of the picture which was borne aloft, and told the king how the merciful One there depicted had left His throne in heaven, died for the sins of a guilty world, and opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

His reply.

Ethelbert listened attentively, and then, in a manner at once politic and courteous, replied that the promises of the strangers were fair, but the tidings they announced new and full of a meaning he did not understand. He promised them kindness and hospitality, and liberty to celebrate their services, and undertook that none of his subjects, who might be so disposed, should be prohibited from espousing their religion. Thus successful beyond their most sanguine expectations, Augustine and his companions again formed a procession, and crossing the ferry to Richborough, advanced to the rude wooden city of Canterbury, then "embosomed in thickets," chanting as they went along one of the solemn Litanies which they had learnt from Gregory, and took up their abode in the "Stable-gate[2]," till the king should finally make up his mind.

Preaching of Augustine.

It is a natural wish that further details had come down to us of this memorable interview, and of the way in which the missionary preached "the word of Life" to the royal worshipper of Odin and Thor[3]. If we may believe a tradition recorded by Ælfric, and expanded by Gocelin, Augustine, taking his text from the picture that was borne aloft, proclaimed "The One true God by whom are all

[1] "Residentibus eis jussu regis, Augustinus primus ore intonat evangelico." Gocelin. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* VII. 61.

[2] "In ea urbis parte quæ *Stable-gate* dicta est, ut W. Thorn tradit," Smith's note in Bede, I. 25. Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 29.

[3] "Verbum ei Vitæ prædicarent" is the very general expression of Bede. Bede, I. 25.

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things, and the Almighty Son of the Father, who so loved his creatures that, without ceasing to be God, He stooped to become man, and by his death had given to men the power to become the sons of God." He told them next of such events in His wondrous life on earth as were likely to impress his hearers, how at His birth a star appeared in the East, how He walked upon the sea, how at His death the sun withdrew his shining, how at His Resurrection the earth trembled and the rocks were rent. How having been looked for as the Great Deliverer from the beginning of the world, and having sealed His mission as Divine, He ascended up on high, and was now worshipped by all the world as the One Saviour of mankind[1].

Whatever was the precise form in which the message of the Gospel was proclaimed to the king, it was not belied by the lives of the missionaries. They gave themselves up, Bede tells us, to prayer and fasting; recommended the word by their own self-devotion and pure and chaste living. This won for them greater acceptance, and they were now allowed to worship with the queen in the church of St Martin, and devoted themselves to the work with renewed zeal. At last the king avowed himself a Christian, and to the great joy, we cannot doubt, of Bertha, was baptized, in all probability at St Martin's church[2], on the 2nd of June, being the Feast of Whitsunday, in the year A.D. 597.

Baptism of Ethelbert.

Baptism of the people.

The conversion of a king was, as we have already, and as we shall see again and again, in these days the signal for the baptism of the nation also. Accordingly, at the next assembly of the Witan[3] the matter was formally referred to the authorities of the kingdom, and they decided in favour of the missionaries. In a letter of Gregory[4]

[1] *Vita S. Augustini*, Migne, *Patrologia*, Sæc. VII. 61.
[2] Stanley, p. 21, and note.
[3] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, II. 205.
[4] *Epp.* Lib. VIII. 30. Ed. Ben. Jaffé's *Regest. Pont. Rom.* p. 125.

to the distant patriarch of Alexandria, we are told that on the 25th of December upwards of ten thousand of the people followed the example of their king, and in the waters of the Swale, as we learn from other sources, sealed their acceptance of the new faith[1].

Meanwhile Augustine had repaired to Gaul, and, according to the plans of Gregory, received consecration to the episcopal office at the hands of the Archbishop of Arles. On his return he took up his abode in the wooden palace of the king, who retired to Reculver, and this, with an old British[2] or Roman church hard by, became the nucleus of his Cathedral. Now also Laurence and Peter were entrusted with the task of returning to Gregory with an account of the success of their mission. They were to recount to him how the country of the fair-haired slaves he had pitied in the Forum had received the faith, how Augustine himself had been raised to the episcopate, and they were to beg for answers to certain important questions respecting the conduct of the mission, which caused the new bishop no little anxiety[3]. They were principally concerned with the establishment of the revenues of the Church of Canterbury, the provision for the married clergy, and the introduction of rites and ceremonies; advice was also requested as to the punishment which ought to be meted out to robbers of churches, within what degrees marriage might be contracted; whether in case of distance a bishop might be consecrated by a single one of the same order; and other

Embassy to Gregory.

[1] Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 22 *n*. "The legend represents the crowd as miraculously delivered from drowning, and the baptism as performed by two and two upon each other, at the command, though not by the act, of Augustine." If the Anglo-Saxons in the Kentish kingdom had intermarried with their British subjects the suddenness of the change of religion would be partially accounted for. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, p. 62 *n*.

[2] Shrouded in a grove of oaks, Ethelbert had converted it into a temple in which to worship his Saxon gods. This Augustine did not destroy, but dedicated it to St Pancras, thus recalling the monastery on the Cælian hill. Stanley, p. 22. Pauli's *Pictures of Old England*, p. 11.

[3] Bede, I. 27.

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A.D. 601.

points respecting ceremonial pollution which it is not necessary to specify.

Gregory's reply.

The messengers went their way, and executed their commission. After the lapse of four years, Gregory replied at length to the questions which Augustine had submitted to him[1]. As to the revenues of the Church, he directed that, according to the Roman custom, they should be divided into four portions, one of which was to be assigned to the bishop and his household for the purpose of hospitality; another to the clergy; another to the poor; the remainder to the maintenance of the church fabric. But Augustine having been trained in the monastic rule, must live in the society of his clergy, and imitate the custom of the members of the early Church, who called nothing their own, and had everything in common. Clerks not in orders might marry if they were so disposed, and could claim to be maintained. As to the crime of sacrilege, the motive ought to be made the subject of diligent inquiry; if poverty dictated the crime, the culprit might be let off with a light punishment, if it was done from a worse motive, a heavier penalty must be awarded, but care should be taken that in no case the Church made a profit by the fines imposed. As to the differences between the Roman and Gallic liturgies, Augustine was directed, with a moderation beyond that of the age, to select from either, whatever appeared to him "pious, religious, and right," to collect it into a volume, and establish it as the liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ever remembering as a guiding principle "that things are not to be loved on account of places, but places on account of good things[2]." Marriage with a step-mother could not possibly be allowed, it was distinctly forbidden in Holy Writ, and experience shewed the inexpediency of marriages with first and second cousins. As to the line of conduct

[1] Bede, I. 27.

[2] Ibid. "Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt." Maskell's *Anc. Liturg.* liii.

the missionary should assume towards the Gallic and British bishops, he was told that it was no part of his duty to interfere with the former, or to rebuke and judge, but, "as a man passing through his neighbour's cornfield, though he might not put in the sickle, yet might pluck and eat a few ears," so if occasion required, Augustine might venture to use the language of gentle admonition. As to the British bishops, they were all entrusted to his brotherly care, "that the unlearned might be instructed, the weak strengthened by persuasion, the perverse corrected by authority."

Arrival of fresh missionaries.

With the bearer of these directions there came over fresh labourers as a reinforcement to the mission, amongst these were Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus. They brought ecclesiastical vestments, sacred vessels, some relics of apostles and martyrs, a present of books, including a Bible in two volumes, two Psalters, two copies of the Gospels, expositions of certain Epistles, and some apocryphal lives of apostles and martyrs. They also brought with them the pall of a metropolitan for Augustine himself, which made him independent of the bishops of France, and with it a letter explaining the course which the archbishop was to take in developing his work. London was to be his metropolitan see, and he was to consecrate twelve bishops under him, and whenever Christianity had extended to York, he was to place there also a metropolitan with a like number of suffragans. These instructions for the spiritual conquest of the country were further supplemented by directions respecting the way in which he was to deal with the monuments of heathenism. Gregory had written to Ethelbert, requesting him to destroy the heathen temples in his dominions. But he was not satisfied as to the expediency of such a course, and now, after much consideration, wrote to Augustine, directing him not to destroy the temples, but only the idols that were

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therein; as to the structures themselves, if well built, they were to be purified with holy water and converted into Christian churches, and hallowed by the presence of relics. The heathen festivals might in a similar way, instead of being rudely abolished, be devoted to Christianity and the celebration of the birthdays of the Saints[1].

Conference with the British Christians. A.D. 603.

The course he was to pursue being thus defined, Augustine was enabled to take further steps for the consolidation of the mission. His first step was to invite the British clergy to a conference at a spot called after him, "Augustine's oak[2]." Prepared to make considerable concessions, he yet felt that three points did not admit of being sacrificed; he proposed that the British Church should conform to the Roman usage in the celebration of Easter, and the rite of baptism[3], and that they should aid him in evangelizing the Saxons. To settle the point, he proposed that the divine judgment should be appealed to; a blind Saxon was introduced, whom the British Christians were unable to cure; Augustine supplicated the divine aid, which was, we are told, vouchsafed. Convinced, but unwilling to give up their old customs, the vanquished party proposed another meeting. Seven bishops assembled on this occasion, together with Dinoth, abbot of the monastery of Bangor Is-y-Coed, in Flintshire. Before the synod met, they proposed to ask the advice of an aged hermit, whether they ought to concede the traditions of their fathers. "If he be a man of God, follow him," was the oracular reply. "How are we to ascertain this?" they asked. "The Lord saith," was the old man's answer, "'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly:' now if Augustine

[1] Bede, I. 29. The subject is reviewed at greater length in a subsequent chapter.

[2] "*Augustinæ ac*, ... in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum." Bede, II. 2.

[3] Either (1) completing it by administering the rite of confirmation (Lingard, *A. S. C.* I. 69), or (2) baptizing with trine immersion, Archdeacon Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 44.

is meek and lowly, be assured that he beareth the yoke of Christ." "And how are we to know this?" they asked again. "If he rises to meet you when ye approach, hear and follow him; but if he despise you, and fails to rise from his place, let him also be despised by you." The synod met, and Augustine remained seated. It was a sign that he had not the spirit of Christ, and no efforts of the archbishop could induce the independent bishops to yield one of his demands. "If he will not so much as rise up to greet us," said his opposers, "how much more will he contemn us if we submit ourselves to him." Thereupon Augustine broke up the conference with an angry threat, that if the British Christians would not accept peace with their brethren, they must look for war with their foes, and if they would not proclaim the way of life to the Anglo-Saxons, they would suffer deadly vengeance at their hands[1]."

CHAP. V.

A.D. 603.

British Christians.

Thus unsuccessful in winning over the British clergy to that obedience which Gregory had told him he had a right to demand, Augustine returned to Canterbury. And now, as all Kent had espoused the faith, Justus was consecrated to the see of Rochester, and, at the same time, through the connexion of Ethelbert with the king of Essex, that kingdom was opened to ecclesiastical supervision, and Mellitus was advanced to the bishopric of London[2]. This was the limit of the archbishop's success. It fell, indeed, far short of Gregory's design, but that design had been formed on a very imperfect acquaintance with the true condition of the island, and the relations which subsisted between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In the following year Augustine died, having already consecrated Laurence as his successor, and was buried in the Abbey, as yet unfinished, of St Peter and St Paul, outside the city-walls.

A.D. 604.

Death of Augustine.

A.D. 605.

[1] Bede, II. 2. Where also he tells the story of the fulfilment of this prediction.

[2] Bede, II. 3. Stanley, p. 28 *n.*

CHAP. V.

A.D. 605. The new primate not only laboured to spread the faith among the heathen Saxons, but tried, like his predecessor, to win over the Britons and Scots to a conformity as regards the observance of Easter. But he was equally unsuccessful; and in the refusal of Dagan[1], an Irish bishop, even to eat with the Roman missionaries, he learnt how far a dispute about things indifferent could embitter the professed disciples of a common Lord. But worse things were in store for the infant Church over which he himself presided.

A.D. 616. On the death of Ethelbert in 616, "it appeared," says Fuller[2], "as though much of the Kentish Christianity was buried in his grave." His son Eadbald not only refused to walk in the way of his father, and to adopt the Christian faith, but even espoused his father's wife; and, at the same time, the three sons of Sebert, king of Essex, made their father's death the signal for an open denial of the faith he had adopted. The occasion of this outbreak is illustrative of the precarious tenure which the new religion had as yet gained over the Anglo-Saxon mind. One day the three princes saw Mellitus celebrating mass with the wonted solemnities: "Give us," said they, "of that white bread, even as thou wast wont to do to our father, and as thou dost now to the people." "If ye are minded to be baptized with the baptism wherewith your father was baptized," replied the bishop, "ye may also partake of the holy bread whereof he partook; but if ye despise the Laver of Life, ye cannot partake of the Bread of Life." Enraged at his refusal, and protesting that they had no need of such baptism, "if thou hast no mind," said they, "to yield to us in so trifling a matter, thou canst no longer stay in our kingdom," and they drove him forth[3].

Apostasy of Eadbald.

[1] Bede, II. 4. Dagan was abbot of Inverdaoile in the county of Wexford, and was promoted to the episcopacy about A.D. 600. Lanigan, II. 365, and notes.

[2] Fuller's *Church History*, I. 175.

[3] Bede, II. 5.

CHAP. V.

Thus expelled, Mellitus with Justus repaired to Canterbury, and consulted with Laurence on the aspect of affairs. It was agreed that they should retire to France, and await the course of events; and Laurence was on the point of following them, when, in the church of St Peter and St Paul, where he had ordered his bed to be placed[1], he was solemnly warned in a dream by the prince of the Apostles, not to leave the flock over which he had been appointed overseer; and as a proof of this divine interference, he displayed to Eadbald in the morning his back scarred and lacerated with the stripes which the indignant Apostle had inflicted upon him for his cowardice[2]. Whether superstition or artifice suggested the story, it had the effect of thoroughly affrighting the superstitious son of Bertha. Filled with alarm, he put away his unlawful wife, and his newly adopted gods, recalled Mellitus and Justus, reinstated the latter in his see of Rochester, and would have used all his influence to restore the former to his see of London, but the East Saxons were resolute in their adherence to their native faith, and would not have the bishop to rule over them[3].

A.D. 616.

While the infant Church was thus struggling even for existence, all hope of its extension was cut off, and it is not till after an interval of eight years, when Justus had succeeded to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, that the Kentish mission was able to advance the faith in the powerful kingdom of Northumbria.

A.D. 624.

Extension of the Mission to Northumbria.

Again the same story meets us. A Christian queen and an energetic bishop are once more the chief instruments in bringing about the change of faith. The daughter

[1] Bede, II. 6.

[2] See Lappenberg, I. 143 *n.*

[3] "Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, *idolatris magis pontificibus servire* gaudentes. Non enim tanta erat ei, quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam *nolentibus* ac *contradicentibus paganis* antistitem suæ posset ecclesiæ reddere." Bede, II. 6. "London then, was even London then, as weak in the infancy, as now wayward in the old age thereof." Fuller, I. 178.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 625.

of Ethelbert married Edwin the king of Northumbria, and in her case, as in that of her mother, the same stipulation was made for the free exercise of her religion[1]. Accompanied by Paulinus, who was ordained a missionary bishop by Justus, Ethelburga travelled to her husband's kingdom, and zealously seconded the efforts of the bishop to win over the pagan Northumbrians, and most of all her husband, to the Christian faith[2].

Edwin's early life.

Edwin's life had been chequered by strange vicissitudes. When only three years old, his inheritance had been seized by his brother-in-law Ethelfrith, and he had been committed to the care of Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, and had been educated by the British clergy till he reached man's estate[3]. Unsuccessful in a battle with Ethelfrith, wherein he had been aided by his guardian, he fled to Mercia, and finding no safety there, had at last taken refuge with Redwald in East Anglia. Twice his unrelenting persecutor demanded that he should be given up to him, or put to death, and twice Redwald refused. A third time the emissaries of Ethelfrith made their demand, and the large sum which accompanied it tempted the Bretwalda to comply, and he promised to surrender his ward.

The next night a faithful friend informed Edwin of the king's design, and offered him a secure retreat. This was declined; and while he was sitting on a stone before the palace, sad and disconsolate, not knowing whither to bend his steps, he was suddenly accosted by a stranger, who not only promised to plead his cause with Redwald, but hinted darkly at his future elevation to the throne, and asked, "If he who has promised such benefits, should impart to you doctrines of life and salvation, better and more efficacious than any of your relatives has ever heard, would you obey

[1] "Neque abnegavit se etiam eandem subiturum esse religionem; si tamen examinata a prudentibus sanctior ac Deo dignior posset inveniri." Bede, II. 9.

[2] Bede, II. 9.

[3] Lappenberg, I. 145.

him, and listen to his admonitions?" Edwin promised. CHAP. V.
The stranger therefore laid his hand on his head, saying, A.D. 625.
"When this sign shall be repeated, remember this hour, this discourse, and your promise;" and with these words vanished from his sight[1].

Followed as this strange occurrence was by a battle on *Restored to his kingdom.*
the banks of the Idle, in which Redwald conquered his enemy Ethelfrith, and restored him to his paternal kingdom, it could not fail to make a deep impression on his mind, and was no doubt the theme now of frequent conversations with his young queen. By her we may be sure it was communicated to Paulinus, who did not fail to make use of it when an opportunity offered.

The year after his marriage, the life of the king was A.D. 626.
unsuccessfully attempted by an assassin sent by Cwichelm, king of Wessex. A faithful thane received the blow intended for his master, and died in the struggle. It was the first day of Easter. The same night the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, and when Edwin returned thanks for this blessing to his gods in the presence of the bishop, the latter told him that he ought rather to return thanks to the Lord Christ, to whom was due his own preservation as well as the blessing of a child. "If your God," replied Edwin, overjoyed, "will give me victory over this king of Wessex, I will renounce my idols and worship him;" and as a pledge of his sincerity, he entrusted his daughter to Paulinus, by whom she was baptized on the Whitsunday following, with eleven others of the king's household[2].

Before long, Edwin's wound was healed, and collecting an army he marched against the king of Wessex, and gained the day, all those who had conspired against him being either slain or taken prisoners. Though he had thus been successful, he did not immediately fulfil his pro-

[1] See Bede, II. 12. Lappenberg, I. 148 *n.* [2] Bede, II. 9.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 626.

mise. He ceased, indeed, to worship idols, but hung back from an open acceptance of Christianity. He held frequent conversations with the bishop respecting the nature of the new faith, and with his chiefs respecting the course he ought to pursue[1]. While he was thus hesitating, there came letters and presents for himself and his queen from Rome, where Boniface the Fifth took a deep interest in the progress of the Anglo-Saxon mission. But still Edwin did not make up his mind, and deferred a positive decision. At this juncture Paulinus, who had been long watching him, determined to take advantage of the romantic adventure of his youth, which he had no doubt learnt from the queen. Approaching him one day, he laid his right hand upon his head, and asked him if he did not remember that sign. Edwin trembled[2], and in reply to the bishop's exhortations promised to submit the question of the new faith to the decision of his council. The Witan was accordingly assembled, and each thane was asked his opinion. The first to reply to the solemn question which religion ought to be adopted, was Coifi, the chief priest. No one, he declared, had applied to the worship of the gods of their fathers with greater zeal and fidelity than himself, but in no respect had he been the gainer; his religion had won for him neither temporal prosperity, nor the sunshine of royal favour[3]. He was ready, therefore, for his part, to give up such ungrateful gods, and to try whether the God whom Paulinus preached could not reward him better.

Coifi's speech.

Among the nobles, however, there was one, less bent on measuring the value of a religion by its temporal advantages. He struck a deeper chord, and suggested a truer

[1] In Bede's graphic words, "et ipse cum esset vir natura sagacissimus, sæpe diu solus residens, ac quidem tacito, sed in intimis cordis multa secum conloquens, quid sibi esset faciendum, quæ religio servanda tractabat." Bede, II. 9.

[2] Bede, II. 12.

[3] Bede, II. 13. "Et nihilominus multi sunt qui ampliora a te beneficia quam ego, et majores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus quæ agenda vel adquirenda disponunt."

reason why the advocates of the new doctrine should be consulted. "The present life of man, O King," said he, "may be likened to what often happens when thou art sitting at supper with thy thanes and nobles in winter-time; a fire blazes on the hearth, and warms the chamber; outside rages a storm of wind and snow; a sparrow flies in at one door of thy hall, and quickly passes out at the other. For a moment, while it is within, it is unharmed by the wintry blast, but this brief period of happiness over, to the wintry blast whence it came it returns, and vanishes from thy sight. Such is the brief life of man; we know not what went before it, and we are utterly ignorant as to what shall follow it. If, therefore, this new doctrine contain anything more certain, it justly deserves to be followed."

CHAP. V. A.D. 627. *The thane's parable.*

The speaker expressed the feelings of many in the council, and, at the suggestion of the high-priest, Paulinus was introduced, that he might explain more fully the faith he sought to establish. His address has not been preserved, but when it was ended, the high-priest broke out again, "Long since had I known that what we have been wont to worship is nothing, and the more diligently I sought after truth therein, the less I found it. Now, however, I openly confess that in the doctrines we have listened to, such truth is clear and manifest as can confer on us life, salvation, and eternal happiness. I advise, therefore, O king, that we instantly abjure, and set on fire those temples where we have so long worshipped in vain, and without reaping any advantage."

The zeal of the new convert powerfully affected the king, and he professed his readiness to adopt the new faith. But who would dare to profane the idol temples and altars still standing, and still regarded with superstitious awe? The high-priest declared his readiness to undertake this dangerous duty, and thus prove his sincerity in the most

Zeal of Coifi.

CHAP. V.
A.D. 627.

signal manner. The chief temple of the Northumbrian kingdom was in the town of Godmundingham, near Market Weighton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Here, if any where, Odin and Thor ought to vindicate their insulted majesty, and prove their power and might. Hither then the high-priest declared he was ready to proceed, remarking that it became none more than himself to destroy what, now, through the wisdom given him by the true God, he knew he had worshipped foolishly. He therefore requested the king to lend him his armour and war-horse, that thus accoutred he might proceed to the destruction of the idol. The multitude thought that Coifi, who, as chief-priest, was forbidden by the laws to carry arms, or to ride anything but a mare, was mad. But he, undeterred, with the king's sword girded on his thigh, mounted the charger, and led the way. Arrived on the spot, he flung a javelin at the temple, and fixed it fast in the wall, and then, with much joy at this proof of the impotency of the old deities, he bade his retinue destroy the heathen structure, and burn it with all its sacred precincts.

Baptism of Edwin.

When the high-priest of the old faith thus polluted and destroyed the very altars he had himself dedicated, the king could no longer "halt between two opinions." While he was instructed[1] and prepared for the holy rite, a wooden church was quickly built, and there he himself, with many of his family and nobles, was baptized on the 12th of April, 627.

[1] "In ecclesia sancti Petri Apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno cum catechizaretur atque ad percipiendum baptisma imbueretur, citato opere construxit." Bede, II. 14.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF MISSIONARY WORK IN ENGLAND.

A.D. 627—689.

"Per hos sanctissimos viros Episcopos Aidanum, Finanum, Colmannum, sive per se, sive per alios quos ipsi consecratos Anglis dederant Episcopos et sacerdotes, regna quatuor, duo Northumbrorum, Merciorum, Midilanglorum, et media pars regni Saxonum Orientalium usque Thamesis pæne ripam ad Christi conversa sunt."—FORDUN, *Scoti-Chron.*

A.D. 627. *Northumbrian mission.*

THUS, at last, the Kentish missionaries reaped the fruit of their labours. Accompanied by the zealous Paulinus, the newly-baptized king travelled from town to town throughout his dominions, and aided by all the weight of his influence the propagation of the faith. Arrived at any convenient spot, it was the custom of the bishop to set up a cross; by his side would stand the king, and the deacon Jacob; one of the chants that Gregory had taught his monks on the Cælian Hill was then begun, and by its sweet and novel tones attracted a crowd prepared to hear the bishop when he began to speak. The labours of Paulinus were crowned with ample success; at Yeverin in Glendale, at Catterick on the Swale, at Donafield near Doncaster, he baptized many converts. At the first of the above-mentioned places he was incessantly occupied for six-and-thirty consecutive days, from early morn until night-fall, in instructing the people, and when they were duly prepared, in baptizing them by immersion in the little river Glen. Crossing the Humber he accompanied the king and queen as far as Southwell in Nottinghamshire,

Success of Paulinus.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 627.

and baptized great numbers of converts in the river Trent; and there were those in Bede's time who had seen and conversed with some that had received baptism from this energetic bishop, and who remembered how he was a man tall of stature, a little stooping, with dark hair, meagre visage, aquiline nose, and a venerable and majestic aspect[1]. Not satisfied with the care of his own subjects, Edwin next extended his religious zeal to the kingdom of the East Angles, where he had spent so many unhappy years. Redwald the father of the reigning king Eorpwald had declared himself a convert to Christianity, during a visit to the court of Ethelbert, king of Kent. But on his return, importuned by his wife and friends, he had, to satisfy both parties, erected an altar to Christ and to his heathen gods, in one and the same temple. But Edwin succeeded in thoroughly converting Eorpwald, who, however, was before long murdered by a pagan assassin. East Anglia was now plunged into strife and discord, but the good king of Northumbria lived long enough to hear of the restoration of Christianity, after a lapse of three years.

Conversion of East Anglia.

A.D. 630.

In the year 630 Sigebert, who had been baptized while an exile in Gaul, took possession of the throne conjointly with his brother Ecgric, and he was powerfully assisted in his efforts to evangelize his subjects by Felix, a Burgundian bishop, whom Honorius, the archbishop of Canterbury, sent to labour in East Anglia. He went about the province preaching, baptizing, and erecting schools on the plan of those existing in Gaul, and on the foundation of the see of Dunwich, was appointed the first bishop[2]. To this same kingdom came also Fursæus, a monk from

[1] Bede, II. 16.

[2] "Instituit scholam in qua pueri literis erudirentur; juvante se episcopo Felice quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque pædagogos ac magistros juxta morem Cantuariorum præbente." Bede, II. 15; III. 18. "Scholas opportunis locis instituens, barbariem gentis sensim comitate Latina informabat." Malmes. *de Gestis Pont.* II. Lappenberg, I. 154 *n.*

reland, who was heartily welcomed by Sigebert, and by his life and doctrine contributed much to the spread of the Gospel[1]. His missionary tours, which extended over a period of fifteen years, were productive of immense benefits, like to the heathen and the Christians of East Anglia, and Bede has drawn a glowing picture of his sanctity and zeal. CHAP. VI. A.D. 633.

In the kingdom, however, of Northumbria, a sad change was at hand. Before Edwin could receive the letters addressed to him by the Pope Honorius I., informing him that he had sent palls to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, he had perished in the battle of Hatfield fighting against the savage Penda, who, at the head of a formidable British confederacy, invaded Northumbria, spreading everywhere ruin and desolation, and sparing neither age nor sex. Paulinus, who must have perceived that the times were ripe neither for such a government as that of Edwin, or such a religion as he had introduced, fled with the widowed queen and her children into Kent, and received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the vacant see of Rochester. *Decline of the Northumbrian Mission.*

The only member of the mission left in York was Jacob the deacon, who must have grieved sorely for the dark and troublous times which had now set in for Northumbria. Both Eanfrith prince of Bernicia and Osric prince of Deira relapsed into heathenism, and the land groaned under the savage rule of Cædwalla[2]. At length, in 635, Oswald a younger son of Æthelfrith, raising a small force, and erecting a cross, round which he commanded his followers to kneel and pray for aid to the God of battles, A.D. 635. *Accession of Oswald.*

[1] On the Milesian Scot, Fursæus, who in his cell at Burgh Castle 'kindled the spark which, transmitted to the inharmonious Dante of a barbarous age, occasioned the first of the metrical compositions from whose combination the *Divina Commedia* rose," see Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 164. Lanigan, II. 448—460.

[2] Bede, III. 1. Lappenberg, I. 157.

CHAP. VI.
A.D. 635.

burst upon the armies of Cædwalla at Hefenfeld near Hexham, and utterly routed the last hero of the old British race. Uniting in himself the sovereignty of Bernicia and Deira he was saluted as the sixth Bretwalda, and under him the land had rest many days[1].

Like Edwin he had in his earlier years been an exile, and had received instruction from the Scottish missionaries; and now that he had obtained the throne he was determined to do all in his power to carry on the good work which Paulinus had begun, but which had been interrupted by the invasion of Penda. Instead, however, of sending to Canterbury for labourers in the mission-field, he sent messengers to Segienus, Abbot of Hy, requesting aid in the instruction of his subjects. In compliance with his wish, the Abbot sent him a monk named Corman[2], who, after preaching the word some time with little success, returned in disgust to his seagirt home. He could effect nothing, he declared, to the assembled brethren, owing to the ungovernable and barbarous temper of the Saxons. These tidings were received with sorrow, and the assembly was in anxious discussion as to the best course to be taken, when a voice was heard saying, "It seems to me, brother, thou hast been harsher than was fitting towards thy ignorant hearers, and thou hast not, in accordance with Apostolic usage, first offered them the milk of simple teaching, till by degrees being nourished with the divine word, they might be enabled to receive the more perfect and to keep the higher precepts of God."

Missionaries from Iona.

Thereupon the eyes of all were fixed upon the speaker, and it was unanimously agreed that no other was more fit to undertake the duty of evangelizing these wild Northumbrians. This was Aidan[3], a monk of Iona, of whom,

Aidan.

[1] Lappenberg, I. 157.

[2] Bede, III. 5. Hect. Boethius, Lib. IX.

[3] Bede, III. 5. In the *Chronicon Hyense*, drawn up by Dr Reeves, principally from the Irish Annals,

though a disciple of the Irish school, even Bede speaks in the highest terms, as a man eminent for meekness, piety, and good works. Having been consecrated bishop, he immediately set out for Northumbria, and fixed his see at Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, which the king willingly granted him, to be an English Iona. Hence he went forth on his missionary tours, wherein he was always assisted by Oswald, who, while as yet the bishop was not master of the English language, himself acted as interpreter, and made his instruction intelligible to his chiefs and courtiers. Nor did Aidan fail to justify the confidence that had been reposed in him. Active in the propagation of the faith, he was at once severe towards himself and humble and beneficent towards the poor and lowly. "He neither sought the things of this life nor cared for them. Whatever presents he received from the king or wealthy persons, he rejoiced to distribute forthwith among the poor that fell in his way. In his journeys through his diocese, he was wont to travel not on horseback, but on foot, except in case of great necessity, in order that, as he went along, he might address those whom he happened to meet, whether rich or poor, and exhort them, if not already Christians, to embrace the faith, and if Christians, to shew forth their faith by almsgiving and good works[1]." Like the founder of Icolmkill, he was devoted to reading, and the study of the Scriptures; and of all that accompanied him, he exacted the same diligence, requiring that they must learn the Psalms, or read the Bible, wherever they might be, and as a daily duty. If, as very rarely occurred, he was invited to the king's table, one or two only of his clergy accompanied him, and after a slight refreshment, he hurried

Aidan's Missionary labours.

we find sub ann. 635, "Ab insula Hii ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Ædan, accepto gradu episcopatus." He was the son of Lugair, son of Ernin, and of the same lineage as St Brigid and other distinguished saints. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 374. Lanigan, II. 417.

[1] Bede, III. 5.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 635.

back with all speed to study and devotion. He set the example adopted by religious persons of both sexes, of fasting until three in the afternoon every Wednesday and Friday in the year, except between Easter and Whitsunday. Towards the poor he bore himself with humility, towards the rich with faithfulness, neither cringing nor flattering. Whatever money he received from them, he expended either in works of charity or in redeeming slaves, many of whom he trained and educated, and even raised to the priesthood.

Foundation of the Monastery of Lindisfarne.

To Lindisfarne, where, according to the Irish custom, Aidan had founded a monastery, and united[1] the monastic duties with those of the bishop, flocked numbers of auxiliaries, chiefly monks from Iona, who with great zeal preached the word throughout Northumbria. Churches were built in divers places, and monasteries were endowed with grants of land, where the Saxon youth were instructed by their Celtic teachers[2].

Conversion of Wessex.

Nor was it only in Northumbria that the effect of this mission from Iona was felt. In the same year that Aidan came to Lindisfarne, Oswald repaired to the court of Cynegils, king of Wessex, to ask the hand of his daughter in marriage. A year before, Cynegils had been visited by Birinus, who is said to have been bred up as a monk in the monastery of Gregory at Rome, and who had undertaken by the advice of Pope Honorius[3] to penetrate into the innermost parts of the country for the purpose of propagating the Christian faith. Raised to the episcopate

[1] Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 16. "Aidan quippe, qui primus ejusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat." Cf. also Bede, III. 3.

[2] "Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam atque illis Anglorum provinciis quibus regnavit Oswald, magna devotione verbum fidei prædicare, et credentibus gratiam baptismi quicunque sacerdotali erant gradu præditi, ministrare...Construebantur ecclesiæ...donabantur munere regio possessiones, et territoria ad instituenda monasteria." Bede, III. 3.

[3] "Promittens quidem se (Honorio) præsente in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus quo nullus doctor præcessisset, sanctæ fidei semina esse sparsurum." Bede, III. 7.

by Asterius, bishop of Genoa, at the command of Honorius he had come to the island, and finding himself on his landing surrounded by the darkest paganism, he had determined to remain where he was rather than advance further. His preaching had now so far influenced the king, that he had consented to submit to baptism, and, on stepping forth from the font, was received by Oswald, who gladly became at once his godfather and son-in-law. CHAP. VI. A.D. 635.

Birinus, bishop of Dorchester.

By the two kings Dorchester was assigned to Birinus as an episcopal see, and here he continued for some time preaching the word, building churches, and gathering many into the Christian fold. On the death of Cynegils, in 643, his son Cenwealh refused baptism, put away his wife, who was the sister of Penda, and contracted another alliance. War ensued, and he was driven from his kingdom. For three years he lived in exile at the court of Anna the pious king of East Anglia, and there learnt to adopt the Christian faith. On his restoration to his kingdom, he was visited by a certain priest named Agilbert, who was of French extraction, but had been spending some time in Ireland for the sake of studying the Scriptures. He was invited by the king to stay and accept the bishopric, and complied with his request. But at last Cenwealh, who knew nothing but Saxon[1], growing weary of the bishop's foreign dialect, secretly introduced into the new see of Winchester an Anglo-Saxon, who could speak his own language, named Wini, who also had been ordained in France. This, and the division of his diocese, grievously offended Agilbert, and straightway leaving the country, he accepted the bishopric of Paris, where he lived to a good old age.

A.D. 643.

A.D. 649.

Death of Oswald.

Meanwhile the good Oswald, whose amiable character had won for him even among his foes, the Britons, the

[1] "Tandem rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat, *pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ*, subintroduxit in provinciam alium *suæ linguæ* episcopum vocabulo Vini, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum." Bede, III. 7.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 653.

surname of "Lamngwin," "*the fair* or *free of hand*," had perished in battle against his restless foe the savage Penda, who, with pagan ferocity, ordered his head and arms to be severed from the trunk and fixed upon poles. On his death a division of the kingdom took place. Oswiu became king of Bernicia, and, after a lapse of two years, Oswin, son of Osric, of Deira. But the reign of the latter was brief, and he was murdered by the command of Oswiu. The new king strove to live on peaceable terms with the champion of paganism, the terrible Penda, and thinking thereby to strengthen his cause, accepted for his son the hand of Penda's daughter, and gave his own daughter to Peada, the son of the great chief, and ealdorman of the Middle Angles. This prince did not refuse to comply with the conditions which his father-in-law annexed to their union, and together with all his thanes and followers was baptized by Finan, the successor of Aidan in the see of Lindisfarne.

Missionary success in Mercia.

After receiving the rite, Peada returned into Mercia with four missionaries to evangelize the Mercian people. These were Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma[1]; they preached the word with much success, and many both high and low renounced their idolatry, and were received into the Church. Even Penda did not oppose their work. He had no objection, he said, to their preaching, he only hated and despised those who professed the faith of Christ without his works, and thought they were miserable creatures who were above obeying the God in whom they professed to believe[2].

His own devotion to the "God of Battles" was at least sincere. Though his son had married the daughter of Oswiu, he still continued his inroads into the Northumbrian territory, till at last the king gave him one of his

[1] An Irishman, see Lanigan, II. 428.

[2] "Quin potius odio habebat, et despiciebat eos, quos fide Christi imbutos, opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros qui Deo suo in quem crederent obedire contemnerent." Bede, III. 21.

sons as a hostage, and promised innumerable royal ornaments and other presents, if he would only withdraw his devastating bands. But all was in vain. The old pagan king summoned his allies, the king of East Anglia, the king of Deira, and the king of Gwynedd, and marched against him, determined to gain the sovereignty of the whole island. Oswiu on his side prepared for the battle, and bade his little band put their trust in Christ. "Since the heathen," he cried, "refuses to receive our presents, let us offer them to Him who will, the Lord our God[1]," and he vowed, if victorious, to give twelve estates for the erection of monasteries, and to devote his daughter to perpetual virginity and a cloister life. The battle began, and terminated in the complete rout of the pagans. The king of East Anglia, Penda himself, and nearly all his thirty auxiliary chiefs, were slain. The king of Gwynedd escaped under the veil of night, and the swollen stream of the Aire[2] swept away multitudes of the rest. Oswiu fulfilled his vows. His daughter was devoted to perpetual celibacy, twelve estates were given up to the foundation of monasteries, and the new faith was firmly established in Mercia. Diuma, one of the missionaries who had accompanied Peada from Oswiu's court, was consecrated by Finan, the first bishop of the Middle Angles and the Mercians, the paucity of ecclesiastics making it necessary to place the two people under a single bishop. Diuma laboured with success, but dying before long at Reppington was succeeded by Ceollach, who also was an Irish-Scot[3]. He likewise held the see for but a brief period, and retired to the monastery of Iona, leaving in his place an Anglo-Saxon named[4] Trum-

Defeat of Penda at Winwéd field

[1] "Si paganus nescit accipere nostra donaria offeramus ei qui novit, Domino Deo nostro." Bede, III. 24.

[2] At Winwéd field near Leeds.

[3] Or Cellach, a Scot or Irishman from Hy. Bede, III. 21, 24. Lanigan, II. 428, Reeves' *Chronicon Hyense*, p. 375.

[4] He had been instructed and ordained by the Irish. Bede, III. 21.

CHAP. VI.

here, who was a monk, but ordained bishop by the Irish-Scots.

A.D. 655. *Conversion of Essex.*

Essex also felt the influence of Oswiu's supremacy. Its king Sigebert was a friend of the king of Northumbria, and made frequent visits to his kingdom. During these the subject of the new faith was often discussed between them, and at length, moved by the earnest remonstrances of his friend, Sigebert abjured idolatry, was baptized by Finan, together with a number of his courtiers, and returned to Essex with Cedd, who was, after proof of successful labour, consecrated by Finan, bishop of the East Saxons[1]. Not many years before, on the death of Paulinus, Ithamar, an Anglo-Saxon of the province of Canterbury, was consecrated by Honorius bishop of Rochester, the first example of an Anglo-Saxon being raised to the episcopate; the same archbishop also nominated Thomas, from the province of the Gyrwas, to the bishopric of Dunwich, on the death of Felix, and on his own death, in 653, he was, after an interval of a year and six months, succeeded by an Anglo-Saxon, Deusdedit, of Wessex, who received

A.D. 664.

his consecration at the hands of the Kentish bishop Ithamar, and lived to consecrate Damianus, a south Saxon, to the see of Rochester[2].

This rapid growth of a native episcopate was a sign that the first stage in the missionary work was reached, and that a national English Church would be formed before long. As yet, however, there was one considerable obstacle to complete union between the different dioceses. Two rival bands had hitherto been employed in the evangelization of England; the Roman, assisted by their

[1] "Ubi cum omnia perambulantes multam Domino ecclesiam congregasset, ... contigit redire domum ac pervenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem, propter colloquium Finani episcopi; *qui ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit*, fecit eum episcopum in gentem orientalium Saxonum, vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis." Bede, III. 22.

[2] Bede, III. 20.

converts and some teachers from France, and the Irish, who were plainly the larger body. Between the two there were the old differences respecting the time of keeping Easter, on which point, we have seen how an Irish bishop felt so keenly, as to refuse all communion with his brethren, who followed the Roman custom[1]. There was also a difference respecting the form of the clerical tonsure; the missionaries from Iona shaved the fore part of the head in the shape of a crescent[2], those from Rome shaved the crown of the head, which was surrounded by a circle of hair, supposed to represent the Saviour's crown of thorns. It is true that these differences affected externals only; but amongst a people only just weaned from idolatry, and as yet acquainted with little more than the externals of Christianity, such differences were fraught with much danger. They penetrated the palaces of the different kings, and produced no doubt considerable misunderstanding. Thus, while Oswiu was celebrating Easter, according to the custom he had learnt at Iona, his queen Eanfleda, a daughter of Edwin, who had spent her youth at the Kentish court, was still practicing the austerities of Lent. Again, his son and co-regent Ealhfrith, being influenced by Wilfrid, a priest of Northumbrian birth, strongly favoured the Roman party, and even expelled some Scotch monks from the monastery of Ripon, to make way for others of the party of his friend. It was plain that the scandal could not be allowed to continue, and it was arranged that an amicable conference on the points in dispute should be held at Whitby, in a monastery presided over by the abbess Hilda.

CHAP. VI

A.D. 664.

Conflict between the Irish and Roman Missionaries.

Accordingly, Oswiu and his son repaired to the appointed place, and met the representatives of both parties.

Synod of Streoneshealh or Whitby.

[1] Bp. Dagan. See above p. 108.

[2] "The tonsure of the *secundus ordo* was *ab aure ad aurem*, the anterior half of the head being made bare, but the occiput left untouched. This usage existed in St Patrick's time, who may have found it in the country; it was adopted by St Columba, and continued in his order until 718." Reeves' *Adamnan*, 350.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 664.

On the side of the missionaries from Iona appeared Colman, who had succeeded Finan in the bishopric of Lindisfarne, Cedd bishop of Wessex, and the abbess Hilda herself. On the other side were Agilbert, who, as we have seen, had been promoted to the see of Dorchester, accompanied by a priest Agatho, Jacob, the deacon of Paulinus, Romanus, a Kentish priest belonging to the queen's household, and last, not least, Wilfrid, the friend of the king's son and co-regent. The future bishop of York was a Northumbrian, of noble birth; in his thirteenth year he had resolved to renounce the world, and through the influence of Oswiu's queen had been received into the monastery of Lindisfarne. There he had distinguished himself by his humility, devotion, and mental endowments, and above all by an earnest longing to behold and pray in the Church of the Apostle Peter at Rome. The first of the many converted Anglo-Saxons over whom at this period the mystic city on the Tiber exercised a strange fascination, he found an eager promoter of his wishes in the queen Eanfleda, who sent him to her brother the king of Kent. At his court the ardent Northumbrian became acquainted with the doctrines of the Roman Church, and hence in company with the eminent Benedict Biscop he embarked for the Continent. Arrived at Lyons, he so won the favour of the archbishop Delphinus that he might have married his brother's daughter, and occupied a high position in France. But he was bound for Rome, and nothing could turn him from his purpose. In the holy city, whither he was to be followed by many of his fellow-countrymen, he employed himself diligently in mastering the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, the Roman computation of Easter, and other points proper to be known by a priest of that Church. Returning thence a devoted adherent of the Roman see, he stayed three years at Lyons, and received the Roman tonsure from the archbishop.

Wilfrid.

Thence, having with difficulty escaped death[1] in the persecution which broke out against his episcopal friend, he hastened back to his own country, and, as we have seen, had acquired great influence over Oswiu's son, now the co-regent, who had made him abbot of his new monastery at Ripon. CHAP. VI. A.D. 664.

The conference at Whitby began with an exhortation from Oswiu to peace and concord, and a determination to discover and follow the true tradition on the Pascal question. Colman having been requested to deliver his opinion, appealed to the tradition handed down from St John as the authority for the custom the king had learnt at Iona. Agilbert followed, and requested that Wilfrid, who could speak the Anglo-Saxon language, might be allowed to deliver their common sentiments. *Arguments of Wilfrid in the Council.* The latter then detailed how he had seen the festival of Easter celebrated at Rome, "where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried," and throughout Gaul and Italy where he had himself travelled. The same custom he declared obtained throughout Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, indeed the whole world, save and except only that obscure corner where dwelt the Picts and Scots. The controversy now waxed warm, and was carried on on both sides with skill and acuteness. How it would have ended it is impossible to say, had not Wilfrid adduced in support of the Roman customs the often quoted words of the Lord, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Thereupon the king turned to Colman[2], and inquired whether these words were really

[1] "At vero cum sanctus Wilfridus spoliatus, et pariter ad palmam martyrii intrepidus staret; Duces interrogaverunt dicentes: 'Quis est iste juvenis formosus, qui se præparat ad mortem?' Dictumque est illis: 'Transmarinus de Anglorum gente ex Britannia.' Iterumque dixerunt: 'Parcite illi, et nolite tangere eum.'" Eddius, c. 7.

[2] Bede, III. 25.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 664.

addressed to the Apostle Peter? "They were, without doubt," was the reply. And can you bring forward anything like such high authority for your Columba? continued the king. "None," said the bishop. "And are ye both, without controversy," rejoined Oswiu, "agreed on this, that it was especially to Peter that these words were spoken, and that to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given by the Lord?" "We are," said they. "Then," said the king, "I too declare to you, since he is the doorkeeper, I will not oppose him; but as far as I can, I will follow his commands and precepts, lest perchance, when I come to the gates of heaven, there be no one to open to me, if he turn his back upon me, who is proved to hold the keys." The king's jest was received with applause by those present. Whatever their motives were, superstitious fear, or a wish to side with the king, they concurred in his decision, and the council closed. Colman in disgust retired to Scotland; Cedd returned to his diocese, and complied with the Roman custom; Tuda, the last of the Scottish succession, succeeded to Colman's see, and likewise observed the Roman practice. Thus through the political predominance of Wessex, the influence of Wilfrid, and doubtless the prestige which the Roman see had borrowed from the Roman empire, the Roman party gained a victory in England over their Irish rivals.

Conversion of Sussex.

One kingdom only now remained where the work of the missionary was needed. This was Sussex, which though in their own neighbourhood had been strangely neglected by the Kentish clergy. It is true that Dicul, one of the companions of Fursæus, whom we have seen labouring with success in East Anglia, had visited the district, and erected an insignificant cell at Bosham, where, surrounded by woods and the sea, he had with five or six brethren, "served the Lord in humility and poverty." But his efforts had been of little avail amongst the pagan population. The

king, indeed, had received baptism in the Mercian kingdom together with his queen, but they had done little for the evangelization of their subjects[1]. The work was reserved for the coadjutor of Agilbert at the council of Whitby. On his return from France, where he received consecration as bishop of York, Wilfrid had been thrown on the Sussex coast, and had narrowly escaped death from the heathen wreckers[2]. Since then he had experienced strange vicissitudes. Driven from his diocese, hated by the new king of Northumbria, and finding no security in Wessex or Mercia, he had after his escape from prison, sought refuge amongst the heathen tribes in the wilds of Sussex, and was enabled to complete what the small Irish mission had begun and the Kentish mission had left undone. Ethelwalch the king received him with pleasure, and Wilfrid, who had already had experience in missionary work on the barbarous shores of Friesland[3], undertook their conversion with alacrity. His visit was most opportune. Separated from the rest of England by forests and jungles, the wretched people had for three years suffered from drought, followed by a famine so severe, that in the depth of their despair they linked themselves hand in hand by forties and fifties, leaped from the rocks, and were dashed in pieces or drowned[4]. Moreover, though occupying a long line of sea-coast, they were but little acquainted with the art of fishing, and thus had the greatest difficulty in getting a livelihood[4]. Wilfrid, therefore, and those who were with him, saw that their mission was to civilize and feed the people of Sussex as well as preach the gospel to them. They therefore began by teaching them the art of fishing. Collecting all the nets they could find, he and his followers went out to sea, shared with the

A.D. 681.

Wilfrid labours in Sussex.

[1] Wulfhere, the Mercian king, had rewarded him for his change of faith with the grant of the Isle of Wight. Bede, IV. 13. His queen had been baptized in her own country. Bede, IV. 13.

[2] See Eddius, c. 25, 26.

[3] Bede, IV. 13, and below chap. viii.

[4] Bede, IV. 13.

CHAP. VI. A.D. 681—686.

poor creatures the proceeds of their success, and showed them how to provide for themselves. This, and the missionary's acquaintance with their own tongue, speedily won the hearts of his famine-stricken flock. Wilfrid himself baptized the chiefs and their warlike retinue, while the four priests who accompanied him administered the rite to the people. And on the very day of the baptism, as Bede tells the tale, the windows of heaven were opened, the refreshing shower descended, the parched land grew green, and the bodies as well as the souls of the people felt the blessing of the bishop's presence[1]. The king presented him with lands at Selsey, on which to build a monastery, and for five years Wilfrid performed the work of a missionary bishop among the people of Sussex, and reclaimed them from their heathenism.

Rise of a National Church.

Already, before this last remnant of a heathen people had been gathered into the fold of Christ, the various efforts of the different missions throughout the island had been in a great measure consolidated, and the cluster of missionary stations had begun to be converted into an established Church. The man suited for this important work had come, not from Rome, or Gaul, or the Celtic monasteries of the North, but from Tarsus, "a city of Cilicia." Nominated by Pope Vitalian in place of Wighard, and accompanied by the African Hadrian, the new archbishop brought to this island the Roman love of order and organization. As soon as he arrived he visited the several Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and succeeded in obliterating all traces of the peculiar customs of the missionaries from Iona. Summoning a synod at Hertford[2], he introduced canons for regulating the power of the bishops, defined the rites of monasteries, enacted laws respecting divorce, unlawful marriages, and other points, which have always been a source of difficulty to missionaries and infant churches, and

Labours of Theodore.

A.D. 668—689.

[1] Bede, IV. 13. [2] Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 152.

further, with Hadrian's aid, he converted many of the monasteries into seminaries of useful learning, where from the lips of teachers familiar with Greek and Latin, the Anglo-Saxon youth could learn prosody, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic[1].

Close of the missionary period in England.

Thus within a space of less than ninety years, the work of evangelization in this island had been accomplished. The Anglo-Saxons, once notorious for their fierceness and barbarity, had so far been softened by Christian influences that in no country was the new faith more manifestly the parent of civilization. Intercourse with the metropolis of the West rapidly introduced various arts and sciences, replaced the wooden straw-thatched church of the Celtic missionary by structures fashioned after the model of the basilicas of the West, roofed them with lead, and filled them with glass, and improved the music by bringing into universal use the Gregorian chant[2]. The same influences before long affected also the laws; they regulated the time for bringing the Saxon child to the font, denounced a penalty if it died unbaptized, declared the spiritual relationship there contracted to be on a par with natural affinity, forbade servile work on Sundays, regulated the treatment of the slave, forbade all heathen practices, such as sorcery, necromancy, and divining[3]. Thus at last the vision of Gregory was realized, and the land of the fair-haired Saxon boys took its place among the Christian kingdoms, destined, in its turn, by the hands of devoted men, to transmit the light it had itself received to kindred Teutonic tribes in the Germanic forests.

[1] Bede, IV. 2. Lingard's *A. S. C.* I. 78.
[2] Lappenberg, I. 172. Bede, IV. 2.
[3] Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 155. Kemble, II. 490—493.

CHAPTER VII.

CELTIC MISSIONARIES IN SOUTHERN GERMANY.

A.D. 590—630.

"On becoming Christians one would suppose that the Celtic nations would have been softened into union and fellow-feeling. This was not the case. The Celtic Church partook of the nature of the clan. At first fecund and ardent, it seemed to take the West by storm."—MICHELET.

CHAP. VII.

AND now having watched the rise of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Churches, we shall see how they poured back with interest the gifts of civilization and of the Gospel upon the Roman Empire, how from this "ultima Thule" of remote barbarism, as it was once regarded, there rolled back a tide of missionary enterprize to restore vitality to the Frankish Churches, and to lead the way in converting the masses of continental heathendom. It is not meant to assert that, during the wild scenes of confusion which attended the consolidation of the Frankish kingdom none were found on the continent itself to devote themselves to the missionary work, and to tread in the steps of men like Severinus. The names of Goar[1] and Wulflaich are perhaps the representatives of many who have passed away

[1] Goar, towards the close of the sixth century, built a hut beneath the frightful rocks of the Lurlei, in the narrowest part of the Rhine, in order to save the shipwrecked, and to feed the starving wanderer. "The little town of St Goar retained," says Menzel, "in memory of the hospitality of this saint, even to our times, the custom of placing a brass necklace round the neck of the passing stranger, with the inquiry, 'whether he would be baptized with water or with wine?' If with water, he was well besprinkled; if with wine, he was offered a full golden goblet, which he emptied to the health of the emperor, and in return placed his alms in the poor's box." Menzel's *Germany*, I. 219.

unhonoured and unknown, but whose labours in contrast with the general degeneracy were equally earnest and self-denying. The story of Wulflaich is characteristic of the times. He was a native of Lombardy[1], and in early youth having heard of the fame of St Martin, he undertook a pilgrimage to his Church, and, after due preparation in a monastic establishment, settled down in the district of Triers, in the valley of the Moselle. Here he found a statue of Diana[2] to which the people offered worship, and which they regarded with the utmost veneration. Eager to turn them away from their idolatry, he erected a column at no great distance from the idol, on which he stood from morning till night, in imitation of the famous Simeon Stylites, partaking only of a little bread, oil, and a small quantity of water. The singularity of his mode of life attracted crowds to witness his austerities, and he embraced the opportunity of proclaiming to them that the deity they worshipped was a vain thing, and their sacred rites useless. The impression thus made was not lost. A portion of the people were persuaded of the impotency of their goddess, ropes were fastened to her image, and it was dragged to the ground, and broken to pieces. But his pillar austerities found little favour with the neighbouring prelates. "Thy mode of life," said they, "is not fair; it is useless for thee, unknown and ignoble, to vie with the holy Simeon of Antioch. Our climate does not admit of such austerities as these, descend from thy pillar, and mingle freely with the brethren thou hast gathered unto thee." Moved by their representations he one day consented to descend, and one of the bishops, availing himself of the opportunity, decoyed him some distance from his favourite spot, and in

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 560.

Wulflaich.

[1] See *Acta SS.* July 7. Greg. Tur. VIII. 15. Kurtz's *History of the Christian Church*, p. 304.

[2] Greg. Tur. VIII. 15. The Councils of Lateran (402), Arles (452) prohibit the worship of stones, trees, and other idols.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 560.

his absence, put an end to his austerities by cutting down his pillar. From this time he lived in communion with his brethren, and laboured no less effectually and certainly more sensibly, for the spiritual welfare of the heathen tribes around.

Irish Missionaries.

But whatever such anchorites were enabled to accomplish, their labours were speedily eclipsed by those of ardent enthusiastic missionaries from Ireland, at this time, in the glowing language of contemporary writers, a "Garden of Eden" and an "Island of Saints." We have already observed the fervid zeal which characterized the followers of St Patrick and Columba, and in the monastery of Iona, have seen one of the many spiritual fortresses they erected in the midst of barbarian hordes, whence the monastic colony went forth on its labour of love. Blending the ardour of Christian zeal with a love of travelling and adventure, they now began to leave their quiet homes in search of more rugged fields of labour, amongst the numerous barbarian tribes of the continent[1].

A.D. 559.

Columbanus. Birth and Education.

One of the earliest and most eminent of these was Columbanus. Born in Leinster of noble parents, he left his home at a very early age to place himself under the venerable Senile, abbot of Cluain-inis in Lough-Erne. Under this able master, his studies embraced, besides the Holy Scriptures, grammar, rhetoric and geometry, and his rapid progress was attested by a commentary on the

[1] The outward appearance of these Irish anchorites was very striking. Their outfit was (1) a *cambuta*, or short pastoral staff (Jonæ *Vita S. Columbani*, c. 30. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 324), (2) a leathern water-bottle, (we have a utrem lactarium, *Vita S. Columbæ*, II. 38), (3) a wallet (Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 116), (4) a leathern case for the service-books ("libros in pellicco reconditos sacculo habebat," Adamn. *Vita S. Columbæ*, II. 8, where see in note Reeves' account of the leather cover of the Book of Armagh), (5) a case containing relics. In the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vol. VII. p. 303, it is said that "the Irish anchorites were in the habit of painting their eyelids," which reminds us of the painted Britons. "Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore, quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris." Hattener's *Denkmäler*, I. 227, 237.

Psalms, which he composed at an early age, and other religious works. Resolved on embracing the monastic state, he left Cluain-inis for the monastery of Banchor, on the coast of Ulster, and submitted to the discipline of the eminent abbot St Comgall[1]. But he was before long seized with the craving for foreign travel which distinguished so many of his countrymen[2], and a desire to preach the Gospel to the pagan tribes on the continent. In vain his abbot endeavoured to dissuade him from his intention, and to quench the fire of zeal which had been kindled within his breast. He had no sooner reached the age of thirty, than selecting twelve companions he bade farewell to his brethren[3], and after barely touching on the shores of pagan Britain, landed in Gaul.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 550.

Lands in France. A.D. 589.

In Burgundy he was welcomed by Guntram, the least blameworthy of the grandsons of Clovis, and he might there have found a secure retreat, and a sphere of useful labour. But his ascetic spirit longed for a sterner mission-field. The words of Christ, "Whosoever will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me," constantly sounded in his ears, and he resolved to seek a country where he could practise such self-denial, and be His disciple indeed. On the confines of the kingdom of Austrasia and Burgundy rose the wild and desolate range of the Vosges, and tribes of pagan Suevians roamed over districts once colonized by the Roman legionaries. Hither he determined to retire, and with his twelve followers first settled amidst the ruins of the small town of Ane-

[1] Born in 517, died in 602. His great monastery of *Beannchar in Altitudine Ultorum*, "Bangor in the Ards of Ulster," was founded in 558. It dwindled away after the invasion of the Danes. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 213 *n.* *Eccl. Antiq.* 334—342.

[2] "Natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est." *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* II. 47.

[3] Their names, though there is considerable variation in the accounts, were Gallus, Deicola, Sigisbertus, Columbanus the younger, Cummin, Eunoc, Ecconan (=Acquon), Domitialis, Kilian, Neemias, Lua, Florentius. Lanigan, II. 264 *n.*

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 590.

Founds the Monastery of Luxeuil, Anegray, and Fontaines.

gray. Here, and at Luxeuil, were charms for the severest ascetic. Over a range of sixty leagues, and a breadth of ten or fifteen, nothing was to be seen but parallel chains of inaccessible defiles, divided by endless forests[1], "whose bristling pinewoods descended from the peaks of the highest mountains to the banks of the rapid streams of the Doubs, Dessoubre, and Loue." War and devastation had wellnigh effaced the traces of Roman colonization; what Roman industry had cultivated, the sword of the barbarous invader, and especially of Attila, had restored to solitude, and made once more the haunts of the bear and the wolf[2]. No spot could have been found more suited to the spirit of Columbanus: nowhere could he and his companions better learn self-denial and mortification, or inure themselves to severer labours. Strange stories have come down to us of the hardships which from time to time these colonizers of the desert were fain to endure, how they supported themselves on the bark of trees and wild herbs, and in seasons of extreme need, experienced unforeseen, and, as they deemed, miraculous aid. At length a monastery arose amidst the waste, formed on the model of those which Columba raised under the oaks of Derry or in sea-girt Hy[3]. At Anegray and Luxeuil the boundaries of the monastic colony were duly marked out, and the forest cleared. Within these rose the humble cells of thatch and wattles, and, conspicuously, the church, beside which was often the round tower or steeple, which served as a place of refuge in times of need[4]. In fields reclaimed from desola-

[1] Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, II. 404. "Luxovium ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicini saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant." *Acta SS. Bened.* II. 12.

[2] "At nunc solæ illic feræ belluæ, ursi, bubali, lupi frequenter visebantur." Jonæ *Vita Columb.* c. 17.

[3] On the similarity of the oratories erected abroad by the Irish ecclesiastics to those in their native country, see Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 347, 418.

[4] See an interesting account of the Irish monasteries in Germany by Dr Wattenbach (*Die Kongregation der Schotten Klöster in Deutschland*), translated in the *Ulster Jour-*

tion the seed was sown, and before long the brethren reaped the waving corn. Nor did their mysterious life fail to move the hearts of men around. Hundreds flocked to listen to their religious instructions, hundreds more, encouraged by their labours in clearing and tilling the land, took to copying their example; at Anegray, at Luxeuil, at Fontaines, they beheld forests cleared, trees felled, and the land ploughed or reaped by the same assiduous hands, all obedient to one head, who sometimes mingled in, and always encouraged their useful labours. CHAP. VI A.D. 590.

Severity of the Rules of Columban.

A Rule, probably derived from the Irish Bangor, and severer than that of Benedict, bound every member of these fraternities. Incessant labour either in the field, or in copying manuscripts, the punctilious observance of repeated devotional services, three by day and three by night, the severest discipline extending to every motion of the body, regulating even the tone of the voice, these and other methods were employed by the ardent abbot to mould to implicit obedience those who courted admission into his cloisters. "Obedience" is the heading of the first canon in his rule, and the question, "What are the limits of obedience?" is answered, "*Even unto death; for unto death Christ submitted Himself to the Father for us*[1]." The perfection of the monk is thus described: "Let the monk live under the discipline of one father, and in the society of many, that from the one he may learn humility, from the other patience, from the one silence, from the other

nal of Archæology, July, Aug. 1859. As at Iona, so here we read of the *cœnobium*, the *ecclesia*, the *refectorium*, the *horreum*, the *vallum*, the *cellarium*, of *plaustra*, and *jumenta*. The brethren "sarculis terram excolunt, et jaciendo semini arva præparant," (Jonas, cap. 17); or "segetum copia in horrea conditur"—while the abbot himself "cum reliquis medius præcidit segetes," (cap. 13.)

On the Round Tower, see Petrie, p. 374, where there is a curious quotation from Mabillon's *Iter Germanicum*, respecting a beacon-tower at the monastery of Luxeuil, as also some remarks, p. 391, on a Round Tower belfry at Bobbio.

[1] *S. Columbani Reg. Cœnob.* cap. I. Migne, *Script. Eccl. Minores*, Sæc. VII. p. 210.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 590.

gentleness; let him never gratify his own wishes; let him eat what he is bidden; let him possess only what he receives; let him perform his allotted task; only when wearied let him retire to bed: let him learn to sleep as he walks, and be compelled to rise before he has slept sufficiently; when he is injured let him hold his peace; the head of the monastery let him fear as a master, and love as a father; let him believe that whatever he orders is for his good, nor question the opinion of his elders, seeing that it is his duty to obey, and to fulfil all that is right. Let his fare be homely and sparing[1], sufficient to support life without weighing down the spirit, a little bread, vegetables, pulse, or flour mixed with water; let this be his diet, as becometh one who professes to seek an eternal crown[2]."

Regulations respecting discipline.

Such was to be the daily life. Meanwhile all offences of the hand, the eye, the foot, the voice, were punished sometimes with penance, or long periods of silence, or lowly postures, and sometimes with blows. The tenth chapter of the Rule regulates the number of the latter with the utmost minuteness according to the nature of the offence. Six blows were awarded to the brother who failed to say grace before a meal, or to join in the "Amen" after the abbot's blessing, or said anything was his own, or neglected to sign his cup with the cross, or talked too loud, or coughed during the psalmody, or stared about him during the service. Acts of insubordination, answering when reprimanded, indulging unchaste thoughts, called down heavier punishments, even, in some cases, upwards of two hundred blows, though more than twenty-five might not be inflicted at one time. Puerile as many of these regulations may appear,

[1] *Reg. Cœnob.* cap. 9. Montalembert, II. 405.

[2] The monastic duties are thus summed up: "quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum, quotidie est legendum." *Reg. Cœn.* cap. 3.

Columbanus was yet far from teaching his brethren that the essence of piety consisted in externals. Again and again he reminds them that true religion consists not in humility of the body, but of the heart, and bids them consider these punctilious observances not as ends but as means. He himself ever set them a worthy example. He united practical energy with a disposition for contemplation. It was his delight to penetrate into the deepest recesses of the forest, and there to read and meditate on the Scriptures, which he always carried with him. On Sundays and high festivals he abstracted himself yet more from outward things. Seeking a cave or some other secluded spot, he would devote himself entirely to prayer and meditation, and so prepare for celebrating the services of the day without distraction. If he demanded incessant self-denial of his followers, he himself fell not short of his own requirements. "Whosoever overcomes himself," he was wont to say, "treads the world underfoot; no one, who spares himself, can truly hate the world. If Christ be in us we cannot live to ourselves, if we have conquered ourselves we have conquered all things; if the Creator of all things died for us while yet in our sins, ought not we to die to sin? Let us die unto ourselves. Let us live in Christ, that Christ may live in us."

CHAP. VII. A.D. 590.

Jealousy of the Frankish Clergy.

These quotations, and others to the same effect might be multiplied, express the innermost feelings of his heart, and the principles however exaggerated which he sought to instil into the order he had founded, in superintending which and directing the civilizing efforts of his monastic colony, he found constant occupation for twelve years. But he was not without his anxieties. The severity of his life, and his zeal for monastic discipline, excited the prejudices of the Frankish clergy, whose own lethargy and worldliness were strangely out of harmony with his life-long self-denial. The pertinacity with which he clung to

CHAP. VII. A.D. 602.

the customs he had learnt from his teachers in Ireland, and especially the time for the observance of Easter, did not mend matters. Already, as early as the year 599, this latter subject is the burden of a letter he addressed to Gregory I., in which while expressing all due respect for his exalted position he asserts his independence, and refuses to correct what he deemed to be right. After alluding to two reformers of the paschal cycles, Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, and Victorius, presbyter of Limoges, and declaring that he rejected the calculations of the latter, as novel and unauthorised, though supported by the Roman see, he thus addresses the Pope; "Either, then, excuse or condemn your Victorius; but know that should you approve him, the matter of the faith will lie between you and Jerome, who without doubt commended Anatolius though disagreeing with Victorius, so that whoever follows the one cannot receive the other. Take care, therefore, that in approving the faith of the two aforesaid authors, thus disagreeing with one another, there be no discordance between you and Jerome in the decision you give, lest we be perplexed on every side, and compelled to take part either with you or him. In this matter spare the weak, lest you lay bare the scandal of a disagreement. For I plainly acknowledge to you, that any one who ventures to dissent from the authority of Jerome will be regarded as a heretic, and one to be rejected in the Churches of the West, for to him they accommodate their faith in the divine Scriptures in all things without hesitation[1]."

Letter to Gregory the Great.

Before long, his adherence to his Irish customs induced several Frankish bishops to convene a synod and deliberate how they should act towards the intrepid abbot. Accord-

[1] *Epist.* I. Migne, p. 263. "Legi librum tuum," he continues, "Pastorale regimen continentem stylo brevem, doctrina prolixum, mysteriis refertum, melle dulcius egenti opus esse fateor; mihi idcirco tua sitienti largire, precor, opuscula quæ in Ezechielem miro, ut audivi, elaborasti ingenio." Todd's *Irish Church*, p. 57.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 602

His Letter to the Frankish Synod.

ingly, he addressed them a letter, wherein after expressing his thankfulness that they had met on his account, and his wish that they met oftener, as the canons require, and referring them on the Easter question to his correspondence with Gregory[1], he assures them with pathetic dignity that he was not the author of this difference: "I came as a stranger amongst you in behalf of our common Lord and Master Jesus Christ. In His name, I beseech you, let me live in peace and quiet, as I have lived for twelve years in these woods beside the bones of my seventeen departed brethren. Let Gaul receive into her bosom all who, if they deserve it, will meet in one heaven. For we have one kingdom promised us, and one hope of our calling in Christ, with whom we shall reign together, if first we suffer with Him here on earth. Choose ye which rule respecting Easter ye prefer to follow, remembering the words of the Apostle, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* But let us not quarrel one with another, lest our enemies, the Jews, the heretics, and pagan Gentiles, rejoice in our contention." And he concludes, "Pray for us, my fathers, even as we, humble as we are, pray for you. Regard us not as strangers, for we are members together of one body, whether we be Gauls, or Britons, or Iberians, or to whatever nation we belong. Therefore let us all rejoice in the knowledge of the faith, and the revelation of the Son of God, and let us strive earnestly to attain together unto the perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ[2], in communion with whom let us learn to love one another, and praise one another, and correct one another, and pray for one another, that with Him we may together reign for evermore."

[1] *Epist.* 2. "Quid quidem illi sentiunt de Pascha sive papæ per tres tomos innotui, et adhuc sancto fratri vestro Arigio brevi libello hoc idem scribere præsumpsi."

[2] Eph. iv. 13.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 610.

Opposition of Brunehaut.

Thus with mingled firmness and pathos does the abbot plead with the Frankish bishops. But he was soon called to engage in a nobler strife, and to protest against the vices of the Burgundian court, at this time ruled by the notorious Brunehaut, who fleeing from the palace of Theodebert of Austrasia, had taken up her abode with her younger son Thierri. The king, who had forgotten the old Teutonic virtues of his sires, had given himself up to the unbridled indulgence of his lusts, and the unscrupulous Brunehaut, conniving at his licentiousness, sought to gain a complete ascendancy in his kingdom, and to rule him through his vices. The fame of the abbot of Luxeuil attracted Thierri, and he often visited his retreat. The abbot did not neglect the opportunity thus afforded him. "His life was lightning, he could make his words thunder." Sternly he rebuked the king for his incontinence, and bade him leave his countless mistresses for the society of a queen, who might bring him a legitimate heir. The voluptuous Thierri quailed before the saint, and promised amendment. But this was easier said than done. Brunehaut saw in a legitimate queen a death-blow to her influence, and her rage against the abbot knew no bounds. His saintly character and the reverence with which he was regarded saved him from the fate of Didier, bishop of Vienne, who had paid with his life for bold rebuke of Thierri's incontinence. Whether at her solicitation, or of his own accord, the abbot one day visited the palace, and the queen-mother implored his blessing on the king's two illegitimate sons. "These bastards born in sin," was the uncompromising reply, "shall never wield the royal sceptre." Brunehaut, furious, bade the children retire, and from that day forward commenced a series of petty persecutions. She cut off supplies from his monasteries, stirred up jealousy between them and neighbouring convents. Thereupon the abbot determined once more to repair to the

court, and to remonstrate with the queen. It was sunset when he appeared before the palace, and on his arrival being announced the king ordered a sumptuous supper to be prepared and sent out to him. "It is written," said the saint, "that the Most High abhors the offerings of the wicked: the mouth of the servants of God must not be polluted with food given by one who persecutes them and wickedly excludes them not only from their own, but from the habitation of others." Thereupon, according to his biographer, the dishes miraculously brake in pieces, and the wine and other viands were spilt upon the earth. The king, alarmed at this intelligence, promised amendment, and the abbot withdrew to Luxeuil, whence he indited a letter full of the severest rebukes, and threatening the king with excommunication if he did not repent of his adulteries. It was Brunehaut's turn now. She inflamed the mind of the king against the stern monitor, she roused the nobles and courtiers, and appealing to the bishops strove to rouse their jealousy against the stranger monk and his strange rule. At last Thierri, stung to the quick, repaired to Luxeuil, and demanded a free entrance for his courtiers to the monastery. Columbanus replied with awful denunciations. The king attempted to enter the refectory, but dared not go further, so terrible was the language of the abbot. "Thou thinkest," he said with a sneer, "I shall confer on thee a martyr's crown; I am not so utterly foolish as to gratify thy pride, but thou shalt go hence by the way by which thou camest." The abbot refused to stir from his cell[1]. At length force was used, and the uncompromising monk was carried away to Besançon. But he managed to elude his guards, and made his way back to Luxeuil. Again he was taken, and with two or three of his disciples hurried off to Auxerre, and thence to Nevers, where he was placed in a boat and conveyed to Orleans.

CHAP. VII.
A.D. 610.

Columbanus banished to Besançon.

[1] Jonæ *Vita S. Columbani*, capp. 19, 20.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 610.

Here he was forbidden to enter any of the churches, and was removed to Tours, and so to Nantes, where he was put on board a vessel bound for Ireland[1]. But the miracles, which had attended him at every stage of his journey by land, did not fail him now. A storm arose, and the vessel was cast back and left high and dry on the coast of Neustria; nor till the abbot and all belonging to him had been put on shore did the waters return and float the ship to sea. He was now in the kingdom of Clothaire II. who besought him to remain with him, and hallow his realm with his presence. Columbanus could only be persuaded to stay a few days at the court, and after giving the king advice in some political matters, requested a safe conduct to the court of the Austrasian Theodebert. His request was granted, and he reached his destination in safety. Theodebert received him with delight, but could not prevail upon him to remain more than a brief space in his dominions.

Repairs to Zug.

Many of the brethren from Luxeuil had now flocked around the abbot, and he pined for the solitude which had been so long denied him[2]. With a few followers therefore he repaired to Mentz, whence they embarked on the Rhine, and making their way to the mouth of the Limmat, reached the shores of the lake of Zurich, halting finally at Tugium, the modern Zug, where Columban resolved to stay awhile and preach to the pagan Suevians. His labours might have been attended with success, had the means he employed been more calculated to win the affections of the people. But the abbot of Luxeuil and his companions preferred wielding the weapons of a Boanerges to trying

[1] "Reperta ergo navi, quæ *Scotorum commercia vexerat*, omnem supellectilem comitesque suscepit." Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, c. 22.

[2] "Igitur optio ei a rege dabatur, si alicubi aptum locum experiretur; in qua inquisitione venerunt ad fluvium Lindimacum (hodie *Limmat*), quem sequendo adierunt castellum Turegum vocatum, (*Zürich*). Inde etenim adierunt villam vulgo vocatam Tucconia, (*Tuggen*) quæ in capite ipsius Tureginensis est sita." *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* II. p. 6.

the gentler efforts of the Apostle of Love. The Suevians are described as cruel and impious, offering sacrifice to idols, and addicted to augury and divination[1]. Gallus, one of his companions, set fire to their wooden temples, and flung their idols into the lake. Columbanus himself, on one occasion, according to his biographer, came upon a number of the people as they were about to offer sacrifice, and make libations to Woden from a huge vat of beer. Discovering their purpose, the abbot breathed over the vat, which forthwith burst, and scattered its contents in all directions. The heathen Suevians arose in wrath, and resolved to drive the interfering missionaries[2] from their country. Thereupon the latter were obliged to fly, and the Abbot of Luxeuil, after shaking off the dust from his feet, left them with awful maledictions, devoting them and their children to misery in this world, and perdition in the world to come.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 610.

Leaving Zug, Columbanus and his companions shaped their course to Arbon, on the lake of Constance, where they found a priest named Willimar, and were received with great cordiality. Seven days were spent in harmonious intercourse, and in reply to the inquiries of his visitors, Willimar pointed out Bregenz, on the south-eastern side of the lake, as well adapted for the site of a monastery, and for being the centre of missionary activity. A boat was manned by the friendly priest, and Columbanus and his companions made for the spot, and found it well suited

A.D. 611.

Founds a Monastery at Bregenz.

[1] "Homines ibidem commanentes crudeles erant et impii, simulacra colentes, idola sacrificiis venerantes, observantes auguria et divinationes, et multa quæ contraria sunt cultui divino, superstitiosa sectantes." Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Columbani*, cap. 4.

[2] "Sanctus autem Columbanus hæc audiens orabat: Deus rector poli, in cujus arbitrio totus mundus decurrit, fac generationem istam in improperium, ut, quæ improbe excogitant servis tuis, sentiant in capitibus suis. Fiant nati eorum in interitum; ergo cum ad mediam ætatem perveniant, stupor ac dementia eos apprehendant, ita ut alieno ære oppressi ignominiam suam agnoscant conversi; impleaturque in eis prophetia psalmographi dicentis, *convertatur dolor ejus in caput ejus, et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendat.*" *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, II. 7.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 611.

for their purpose. On landing they discovered a church, originally dedicated to St Aurelia, and in the immediate neighbourhood they built a monastery. A closer examination revealed the fact that in this church were three images of brass[1] gilded, fixed to the wall, which the people were wont to worship as the presiding deities of the place, and to invoke as their protectors. These "strange gods" Columbanus determined to remove, and availing himself of a festival when great numbers flocked to the spot, he directed Gallus, who was acquainted with the native language, to address the people on the foolishness of their idolatry, and to persuade them to embrace the true faith[2]. Gallus complied with the request of his superior, and in the presence of a vast multitude who had flocked together to celebrate the festival and to catch a sight of the strangers, reasoned with them on the absurdities of their heathen errors, and proclaimed the One Living and True God and His Son Jesus Christ. Then taking the idols, he broke them in pieces and flung them into the lake, while Columbanus sprinkled the church with holy water, and restored it to its former honour. The people were divided. Some approved the boldness of the abbot, and were converted to the faith, others went away filled with anger and bent on revenge. Here, however, he remained for three years. A monastery[3] was erected, a portion of the forest

Destruction of three images.

[1] "Reperierunt autem in templo tres imagines æreas deauratas, parieti affixas, quas populus, dimisso altaris sacri cultu, adorabat, et oblatis sacrificiis, dicere consuevit, Isti sunt dii veteres, et antiqui hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant in præsens." Wal. Strabo, cap. 6. Pertz, II. 7.

[2] "Vir Dei jussit Gallo ad populum recitare sermonem, quia ille inter alios eminebat lepore latinitatis, necnon et idiomate illius gentis." Pertz, II. 7. Gallus, or Callech (now Coileach), was another Irish disciple, he was of Leinster extraction, being of the same race as St Brigid. The practice of Latinizing the Irish names of these anchorites was very common, thus *Fergal* was called Virgilius, *Siadhail* Sedulius, *Cathac* Cataldus, *Donnchadh* Donatus, *Comgall* Faustus, &c. See note in *Ulster Archæol. Journal*, VII. p. 242.

[3] Where, according to the life of Gallus preserved in Pertz, the brethren "in morem parvissimæ matris apis ingenium exercebant in artibus

was cleared, the land cultivated, and while some of the brethren laid out gardens and planted fruit-trees, Gallus busied himself with making nets and fishing on the lake, and thus supplied the wants of his brethren. The success of the missionaries at Bregenz may be accounted for by the fact that the country had formerly been Christian, and many of the inhabitants had been baptized, though in consequence of the incursions of the Alemanni they had subsequently, as in the instance above, lapsed into idolatry. That the native deities did not regard the exertions of the missionaries with complacency, is attested by the following story, which the biographer of Gallus records with undoubting faith. The holy man was one night engaged in fishing on the quiet waters of the lake, when he overheard the Spirit of the Mountain call to the Spirit of the Waters, "Arise and come to my assistance! Behold, strangers have come and driven me from my temple! Haste to the rescue, and help me to expel them from the land!" To whom replied the Spirit of the Waters, "Lo! one of them is even now busied on my surface, but injure him I cannot. Often have I wished to break his nets, but as often have I been baffled, for the invocation of an all-prevailing Name never fails to cross his lips; thus defended and ever vigilant he always despises my snares[1]." Gallus shuddered at this unearthly dialogue, but quickly crossing himself addressed the spirits, "I adjure you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that ye depart from this place, and never dare to injure any one any more." He then hastily made for the shore, and recounted to the abbot what he had heard, who rejoiced at this manifest proof that "the spirits were subject" unto the brethren. Human hostility, however, they

diversis." This Walafrid Strabo explains thus: "Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt: beatus vero Gallus texebat retia, et misericordia Dei cooperante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam fratribus defuissent." The lake abounds in fish at the present day, and more than 25 species have been enumerated.

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, II. 8. Ozanam, p. 122.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 612.

could not so easily overcome, and the machinations of the heathen party, who prejudiced against them one of the native chieftains, as also the fact that his friend Theodobert had been defeated by Theodoric, induced Columbanus to leave the neighbourhood. His first intention was to labour amongst the Slavonians, but changing his mind he crossed the Alps with several of the brethren, and repaired to the court of Agilulf king of the Lombards, who with his queen Theodelinda welcomed him with the utmost cordiality. Here he settled, and founded the monastery of Bobbio[1]. Declining the invitation of Clotaire II. who sent Eustasius, one of the brethren, to request his return to Luxeuil, he spent the few remaining years of his life in literary labours[2] in his new monastery, and died at the ripe age of seventy-two, A. D. 615.

Retires to Bobbio.

A.D. 615.

Meanwhile his companion Gallus, prevented by a severe attack of fever from accompanying his master across the Alps, remained behind at Bregenz. On his recovery he sought out his old friend Willimar at Arbon, and in his society, and that of two of the Luxeuil brethren, Magnoald and Theodore, found ample employment for his boat and nets on the waters of the lake.

Labours of St Gall.

A.D. 612.

But soon yearning, like his master, for profounder solitudes, he determined to seek a retreat in the midst of the surrounding forests. On communicating his design to Hildebald, a deacon under Willimar, who was intimately

[1] The same abbatial presidency prevailed at Bobbio as at Hy and Lindisfarne. "Episcopus, quem pater monasterii, vel tota congregatio invitaverit ad missarum solemnia celebranda, aut consecrationes Presbyterorum seu Diaconorum ... ipse habeat facultatem in idem monasterium ingrediendi, tantum ad pii opus monasterii peragendum. Nullam potestatem habere permittat Episcopos in eodem monasterio, neque in rebus, neque in ordinandis personis, nisi eum, quem cuncta Congregatio regulariter elegerit." Messingham, *Florileg.* 248 b. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 341 *n*.

[2] The monastery of Bobbio existed as late even as the year 1803. Its valuable library preserved not only Cicero's *de Republica*, but an Irish Antiphonarium of the eighth century, and an Irish Missal. The name of its founder still survives in St Columbano, near Lodi.

acquainted with the woods, the latter tried to dissuade him, by describing the perils of the forest and the multitude of wild beasts[1]. "If God be with us," replied Gallus, "who can be against us? all things work together for good to them that love God." Thus overruled the deacon persuaded him at least to take some bread and a fishing net, and after prayer the two set out on their journey. They had travelled till nearly three in the afternoon, when the deacon proposed that they should stop and refresh themselves before proceeding further. But Gallus, true to the rule of his master, bade the deacon do as he pleased, but declared that for himself he was resolved to taste nothing till God should point out the site of their retreat. Evening was closing on a long summer-day as they reached a stream falling down from a rock, where they succeeded in taking a few fish, which the deacon proceeded to broil over a fire, while the other in the meantime retired to seek a quiet spot, where he might engage in prayer. He had not gone far when his foot caught in some bushes, and he fell down. The deacon hastened to raise him up, but Gallus declined his aid, saying, "Let me alone, this is my resting-place for life, here will I dwell." Then rising up he made a cross of hazel boughs and planted it in the ground, and suspending from it his casket of relics, continued for some time engaged in prayer that God would enable him to erect a monastery on this spot. Their devotions ended, the two partook of supper, and while the deacon pretended to be asleep, Gallus engaged in conflict with a bear, which, however, his biographer tells us, in obedience to the words of so holy a man, condescended to lay aside his usual ferocity, and to leave them unharmed. In the morning the

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 612.

He seeks another retreat.

[1] "O Pater, solitudo aquis est infusa frequentibus, asperitate terribilis, montibus plena percelsis, angustis vallibus flexuosa, bestiis possessa sævissimis. Nam præter cervos, et innocuorum greges animalium, ursos gignit plurimos, apros innumerabiles, lupos numerum excedentes, rabie singulares." *Vita S. Galli*, cap. 9, Pertz, II. 8.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 612—14.

deacon repaired to the stream of the Steinach, and while fishing beheld two dæmons in the form of women, who pelted him with stones, and imprecated curses on the head of his master[1]. He returned to Gallus, and the dæmons were found as obedient to his word as the bear had been on the preceding night, and forsook the stream. With a present of fish they now made their way back to Willimar, and recounted all that had befallen them. Shortly afterwards, according to a story which rests on somewhat doubtful authority, a message from Gunzo the pagan chieftain who had been instrumental in expelling Columbanus from the country, summoned Gallus to cure his daughter, who was possessed with a dæmon. The spirit recognised the voice of him who had spoken words of power on the lake, the maiden recovered, and on her arrival at the court of the king of Austrasia[2], to whom she was espoused, recounted all that had befallen her, and secretly took the veil, a step which had been suggested by the missionary, and was not resented by the king. The valuable presents, which were bestowed upon him in acknowledgment of the benefit he had conferred, Gallus distributed among the poor of Arbon. Among them was a silver cup, which one of his disciples begged him to keep for the service of the altar: "Silver and gold have I none," replied the other; "vessels of brass sufficed my master for the celebration of the Sacred Feast, and they shall be sufficient for me. Let it be given to the poor[3]."

The daughter of Gunzo.

He then retired permanently to his retreat in the forest, where he was joined by a deacon named John and twelve other monks, with whose assistance he cleared the waste,

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, II. 9.

[2] From whom St Gall received the grant of the land on which he founded his monastery. "Rex vero jussit scribere epistolam firmitatis, ut per regiam auctoritatem deinceps obtinuisset vir Dei cellulam suam, quæ vero Deo transmittebatur cum duabus libris auri, et binis talentis argenti." Pertz, II. 11.

[3] See *Vita S. Magni*, cap. 9. *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, II. 12. Lanigan, II. 433.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 615.

and erected the famous monastery which now bears his name[1]. The see of Constance falling vacant, he repaired thither with the deacons John and Magnoald on the invitation of the duke Gunzo, and there met the bishops of Autun, Spires and Verdun, and a large body of clergy and laity assembled to elect a successor. After some deliberation Gunzo addressed them, and exhorted them to choose a proper bishop according to the Canons, and one who would rule his see with diligence. The eyes of all were fixed upon Gallus, and all agreed that no other was so fitted for the high office. But the missionary declined the proffered honour, remarking that the Canons, except in the most urgent cases, did not permit strangers to be ordained bishops of districts of which they were not natives[2]. "But," he added, "I have a deacon of your own people who is well fitted to fill the office, and I propose him for your acceptance." Thereupon the deacon John, who during their deliberations had retired to the church of St Stephen, was brought forth with acclamations by the people, presented to the bishops, and forthwith consecrated. Mass was then celebrated, and after reading the Gospel, Gallus was requested to preach to the assembled multitude. Accordingly he commenced his sermon, which the newly elected bishop interpreted. The discourse[3] was little more than an abridged history of religion, and of the chief events from the Creation to the preaching of the Apostles. The Origin of the world, the Fall of our first parents, the Flood, the Call of Abraham, the miracles of Moses, the kingly period of

Founds the monastery of St Gallus.

Declines the See of Constance.

His Sermon.

[1] *Vita S. Galli*, apud Pertz, cap. 3. Wal. Strabo, capp. 22—25.

[2] See *Vita S. Galli*, Pertz, II. 9. In the 2nd Epistle of Pope Celestine to the bishops of Vienne and Narbon we find it laid down: "Nec emeritis in suis ecclesiis clericis peregrini et extranei, et qui ante ignorati sunt, ad exclusionem eorum, qui bene de suorum civium merentur, testimonio preponantur: ne novum quoddam de quo episcopi fiant, institutum videatur collegium."

[3] It is given in full in Canisius, *Antiq. Lect.* I. 784, and the *Acta SS.* Oct. 16. In an abridged form in Pertz, *Vita S. Galli*, II. 14.

CHAP. VII. A.D. 615.

Israel's history, the calling and functions of the Prophets, the miracle of the Incarnation, the Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection of man's Redeemer, the mission of the Apostles, each of these points was treated in turn, and made the text of some moral observations.

Retires to his new monastery.

Seven days were spent at Constance, and then Gallus returned to his cell in the forest, where he spent the rest of his life, superintending for twelve years the labours of his monastic brethren. Receiving information of the death of his great master, Columbanus, he sent one of his disciples to make inquiries as to the day and hour of his demise, and received in reply a letter from the brethren at Bobbio, and the pastoral staff of the great abbot which the latter had bequeathed to him. Once, and only once more, did he consent to leave his retreat. At the urgent request of Willimar he paid a visit to him at Arbon, and on the occasion of a solemnity preached to a large congregation. Setting out on his return he was attacked with fever, and before he could regain his favourite retreat, he died on the

A.D. 627.

16th of October[1], 627. His had been a life eminent for self-denial and usefulness: he had revived the faith in the ancient see of Constance, he had reclaimed from barbarism the district bordering on the Black Forest, he had taught the people the arts of agriculture as well as the duties of religion; and the humble cell of the Apostle of Switzerland became after his death the resort of thousands of pilgrims, and was replaced by a more magnificent edifice, erected under the auspices of Philip l'Heristal, which during the ninth and tenth centuries was the asylum of learning, and one of the most celebrated schools of Europe.

After the death of this eminent missionary, many, whom the intelligence of his labours stirred up to a godly

[1] See the discussion of the date in the *Acta SS.* October 16. "It was left to the decision of horses to determine where the mortal remains of St Gall should rest." See Pertz, II. 17.

jealousy, left the monasteries of Ireland to penetrate the Germanic forests. Without attempting to enumerate all, we may mention, among others, Fridolin[1], who, like Gallus, sought the neighbourhood of Switzerland, Suabia, and Alsace, and founded a monastery near Seckingen on the Rhine. Magnoald[2] also, or Magnus, the pupil of Gallus, founded a monastery at Füssen in Suabia; and Trudpert, an Irish anchorite, penetrated as far as Breisgau, in the Black Forest, where he was murdered. Somewhat later, Kilian, a bishop of the order of Hy, into whose breast had deeply sunk the admonition of the Saviour to leave all and follow Him, sailed from Ireland, with two companions, and selected Würzburg in Franconia as the scene of his operations[3]. A somewhat untrustworthy biographer represents him as going to Rome, and seeking the approbation and direction of the Pope Conon before entering on his mission. Encouraged by that pontiff to carry on the work, he returned to Würzburg[4], and being able to preach in the language of the people, was not long before he made a considerable impression. One of the native chiefs, Gozbert, sent for him, and after hearing an explanation of the doctrines of the Christian faith, was received into the Church by baptism, and his influence with the people was, as usual, sufficient to induce numbers of them to profess at least an outward allegiance to the new faith. One point, however, caused the missionary considerable anxiety. Geilana the wife of Gozbert had been married to his brother[5], and though at first the fear

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Fridolin.

Magnoald.

Trudpert.

A.D. 643.

Kilian.

A.D. 650—689.

[1] See *Acta SS.* March 6; but the life is considered too legendary to be relied upon. Lanigan, II. 477.

[2] See *Acta SS.* April 26. Neander, V. 50. Similarly uncertain are the accounts of Pirminius the founder of Reichenau.

[3] See *Vita S. Kiliani*, in Messingham's Collection, p. 321, and *Acta SS.* Oct. 8. Lanigan, III. 115.

[4] "The Wurzburg Gospels, a MS. of the anti-Hieronymian Latin version dating in the VIIth century, preserves the memory and Irish learning of S. Kilian." See *Christian Remembrancer*, No. CXVI.

[5] "Erat illi conjux *secundum gentilitatis ritum* quæ quondam fratris ipsius conjugio fuerat copulata."

CHAP. VII.
A.D. 650—689.

of alienating him entirely from the faith had induced Kilian to pass over this irregularity, he now broke silence, and openly told him, that if he would be a Christian indeed, he must put away his wife. "He who keepeth the whole law," said he to Gozbert, "and offendeth in one point, is guilty of all. In baptism a man is made a new creature, not partially, but entirely: if therefore, he would be wholly renewed, he must retain no portion of his old errors." The chief was stupefied at this demand upon his devotion; "heaving a deep sigh," says the biographer, "for he dearly loved his wife, he replied to the bishop, 'Father, I have often heard thee tell how the Lord Jesus Christ said, 'Whosoever loveth father, or mother, or wife, or children, more than Me, is not worthy of Me.' Great, therefore, as is my affection for my wife, I feel I must give her up, if I would retain His love.'" Being, however, on the point of setting out on a warlike expedition, he could not promise instant compliance, but declared his readiness, on his return, to bring about a separation. Meanwhile, Geilana, gaining a knowledge of what was intended, determined to frustrate his design. Hiring two assassins, she caused the bishop to be murdered while engaged in his devotions, and his body to be buried on the spot[1]. A stable was built over the place, but the murder was before long discovered, and terrible vengeance followed in the speedy extinction of Geilana and the chieftain's family.

Gozbert and Geilana.

Leaving, however, this portion of the mission-field, which was afterwards visited by other and more successful evangelists, we may observe here that the self-denying labours of Columbanus and his disciples were not wholly lost even upon those Frankish Churches, whose criminal neglect of missionary work was so severely and so justly

[1] "Vestimenta quoque, cum quibus officia peragebant, sacrique libri simul cum eis defossa sunt, ne quod indicium necis eorum deprehendi posset." See Messingham, p. 328.

censured by Gregory the Great. They assembled in Synod, in the year 613, and, acknowledging the claims of the heathen on their sympathy, appointed Eustasius, the successor of Columbanus, in the monastery of Luxeuil, director of their mission, and sent him, with a monk named Agil[1], to labour in the district of Bavaria, which we have seen hallowed by the saintly Severinus. About the middle of this century their labours were followed up by Emmeran, a native of Poictiers, and a bishop of Aquitania. Roused by the reports of the heathenism prevailing in Pannonia, he resigned his see, and set out thither to preach the gospel, accompanied by an interpreter well skilled in the Teutonic dialects. On his way he halted at Ratisbon in Bavaria, where he was forcibly detained by the duke Theodo, who prevailed upon him, in consequence of the disturbed state of Pannonia, to take up his abode there, and more fully instruct his people, who as yet were scarcely more than half reclaimed from heathenism. His stay lasted a space of three years, and his labours are said to have been blessed with considerable success; but they were suddenly arrested by his death in 652, which took place during his journey to Rome, and was the result of a conspiracy on the part of the son of Theodo, to revenge the violation of his sister, which was falsely ascribed to the bishop[2]. His fleeting mission was succeeded, before the close of the century, by that of Rupert, descended from a royal family among the Franks, and bishop of Worms. At the invitation of another Theodo, he too took up his abode in Bavaria, and entered upon the work of reclaiming the inhabitants[3], multitudes of whom, since the death of

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 650. *Eustasius.*

Agil or St Ail.

A.D. 650. *Emmeran.*

A.D. 652.

Rupert of Worms. A.D. 696.

[1] For Agil, see Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. B.* sæc. II. f. 319, and for Eustacius, Ibid. sæc. II. 116—123.

[2] See the curious and improbable story in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* Vol. III. Neander, v. 53.

[3] See *Acta SS.* March 27. "At first the wild mountaineers would not listen to him, and said that the God of the Christians was poor, or he would not let his worshippers suffer so much from want, and jealous, as he would not tolerate any other god besides himself; but they

CHAP. VII. A.D. 690—718.

Emmeran, had relapsed into idolatry. With his companions whom he had brought with him, he went about from place to place, preaching, baptizing, and assailing the various strongholds of idolatry. The see of Ratisbon having been destroyed, he obtained from the duke the site of the city of Juvavium, still strewed with the remains of Roman temples and baths. He chose it because it was situated in an extensive and fertile valley on the slope of a high mountain-range, and far removed from the bustle of human life. Here he built a church, the foundation of what was afterwards the cathedral of Salzburg, and on a neighbouring eminence erected a convent, of which his niece Erentrudis, whom he had brought with twelve[1] fresh labourers from his former diocese, was the first abbess[2]. The Church of Salzburg soon became the parent of many others in Bavaria and Carinthia, and a missionary centre from which the light of Christian civilization was diffused over the neighbouring region.

speedily altered their opinion when they saw the mines and saltworks progressing under the direction of the saint." Menzel's *Germany*, I. 219.

[1] Their names are given in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III. I. 329. "Giselarius, Dominicus, Maternus, Dignulus, Chunaldus, Isenardus, Gerardus, Ariofridus, Vitalis, Ratharius, Erchanofridus, Erenfridus, et virgo Erentruda."

[2] In the same district laboured from A.D. 717—730, a Frankish hermit named Corbinian, who settled down in the district where afterwards sprung up the bishopric of Freisingen. See Mabillon, *O. B.* III. p. 471.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN FRIESLAND AND PARTS ADJACENT.

A.D. 628—719.

"**Proposuit** [Ecgberct] verbum Dei aliquibus eorum quæ nondum audierant **gentibus** evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas **noverat** esse nationes....sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, **Antiqui Saxones**, Boructuarii."—BEDE, v. 9.

Missions in Friesland.

A.D. 628.

WHILE the work was thus proceeding with more or less success in southern and central Germany, the more Northern regions were not entirely overlooked. Bordering on the kingdom of the Franks was the powerful tribe of the Frieslanders. Their authority extended not only over the strip of territory which still recalls their name, but a considerable portion also of the Netherlands and the adjacent districts. Between the Frankish kingdom and these outlying tribes, fierce and barbarous, and clinging to their native superstitions with fanatical tenacity, a series of border-wars were constantly maintained. Difficult and perilous as the task appeared, men were yet found to go forth and attempt their conversion, as often as the sword of the Frankish king seemed to open a way. Thus Aquitania sent into the field Amandus[1], who was consecrated a missionary bishop about the year 628. He selected the country near the Scheldt as

[1] See Mabillon, *Acta Bened.* sæc. II. Contemporaneously with Amandus, Audomar (St Omer) from Luxeuil, preached from the neighbourhood of Boulogne as far as the Scheldt. Döllinger, I. 85. Hardwick, p. 19 n.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 628.

the centre of his operations, and at Ghent commenced his exhortations to the Frisian tribes to forsake their worship of trees and groves, and to adopt the Christian faith. His weapons, however, were not simply those of exhortation. He bore a commission from Dagobert, authorizing him, if it appeared necessary, to baptize the pagans by force, and to call in the aid of the Frankish soldiers in carrying on his work. The consequence, as might be expected, was violent hostilities, and a determination on the part of the Frisians to thwart his efforts. At length, in a wiser spirit, he endeavoured to win the affections of the rude warriors by redeeming captives, and educating them, and the impression thus made was still further strengthened by an incident which procured for him the reputation of a miracle-worker. He had vainly tried on one occasion to prevent the execution of a thief, and when the sentence was carried out he had the body taken down from the gibbet, and conveyed to his cell[1]. The restoration of the man to life through the efficacy, as it was believed, of the missionary's prayers, accomplished what the injunctions of Dagobert had proved unequal to effect. A considerable number of the Frisians came forward, submitted to baptism, and destroyed their temples, which Amandus was enabled to convert into churches and monasteries. But before long he was forced to suspend his labours in consequence of the displeasure of his patron, whom he had ventured to reprove for his polygamy and unbridled licentiousness. The latter, who had three wives at one time and innumerable concubines[2], could not brook the interference of the bishop, and bade him depart from his kingdom. But before long the cloud passed away. The recall of Amandus to baptize the infant Sigebert was a sign of his restoration to favour, and he was enabled to carry on his work once more at Ghent. Though exposed to much hardship, and forced

Missionary efforts of St Amandus.

Displeasure of Dagobert.

[1] Robertson's *Ch. History*, Vol. II. p. 74. [2] Perry's *Franks*, p. 203.

to support himself by manual labour, his preaching was by no means ineffectual. Had he remained in the place where he had made a successful beginning he might have extended his sphere of action: but he was seized with an uncontrollable desire to attempt a useless mission among the savage Slavons of the Danube. The fruitless expedition of his patron against these tribes may have turned his thoughts in this direction[1]. But he was doomed to disappointment, and what was worse, to an indifference and ridicule, which defeated entirely the object of his ambition,—a martyr's crown. Returning to the region of the Scheldt, he was appointed, in the year 646, successor to a bishop of Mästricht, and thus acquired a permanent field of labour. Devoting himself with much diligence to the new sphere of usefulness thus opened to him, he visited all parts of his diocese, and exhorted his clergy to a faithful discharge of their duties. But his efforts to introduce disciplinary reforms brought upon him so much opposition, that he requested permission of the Pope, Martin I., to vacate his see, and though the latter bade him remain by his people, he withdrew from the scene of his labours, and spent the rest of his days in superintending the different monasteries he had established. Passing over the labours of the Irish missionary bishop Livinus[2], who left his country with three companions and suffered martyrdom amongst the barbarous tribes of Brabant and Flanders, we may here notice those of another Frankish bishop, who appeared about twelve years later than Amandus, in an adjoining district. Eligius, or, as he is better known, St Eloy, was born at Chatelat, a village about a mile from Limoges, and was remarkable at an early age for excellence of character and genuine piety. Placed by his father Eucherius with a goldsmith at Limoges,

A.D. 628.

A.D. 646.

A.D. 646—661.

Livinus.

St Eloy.

[1] Perry's *Franks*, p. 207.

[2] See *Annales Gaudenses*, Pertz, II. 186. "Anno vero 633 beatus Livinus, genere Scotus et Hybernie archiepiscopus, cenobium Gaude cum tribus discipulis sibi et Deo dilectis decimo septimo Kalendas Augusti peregre initavit." Lanigan, II. 467.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 640.

he soon displayed such skill as to attract the notice of Bobbo, the treasurer to Clotaire II., and the fidelity—rare in those days—with which he executed a commission of the king, won for him the favour of the court, and his appointment to the superintendence of the mint, which he retained under Dagobert[1]. Though surrounded by temptations, in the midst of a profligate court, he did not forget the Christian lessons he had learnt in childhood, but became eminent for the integrity of his life, for his kindness to the poor, and the interest he took in the relief and redemption of captives. In this latter sphere of charity his labours were unwearied.

His kindness to captives and slaves.

Whenever he heard that a slave was about to be put up for sale he hurried to the place and procured his redemption. Bands of twenty, thirty, and even fifty, according to his biographer, were thus liberated, and sometimes whole shiploads of slaves—Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, and especially Saxons from Germany—experienced the benefits of his kindness[2]. To rescue them from the hardships of the servile lot he stinted himself to the last farthing, and all who were willing to embrace the monastic life he assisted liberally, hoping to train them as missionaries amongst their own countrymen. So munificent was he in his charities that he was ever surrounded by a crowd of needy applicants for his bounty, and it became a common reply to any one inquiring for his house, "Wherever you see the largest crowd of paupers, there you may be sure to find Eligius." He was equally earnest in erecting churches

[1] See his Life (admodum prolixa) in Surius, *Acta SS.* Nov. 30. "Nam absque ulla fraude, vel unius etiam siliquæ imminutione, commissum sibi paravit opus: non ceterorum fraudulentiam sectans, non mordacis limæ fragmina culpans, non foci edacem flammam incusans, sed omnia fideliter complens, geminam meruit felix remunerationem." c. 5.

[2] "Nonnunquam vero agmen integrum, et usque ad centum animas, cum navi egrederentur, utriusque sexus ex diversis gentibus venientes, pariter liberabat, Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum atque Britannorum, necnon et Maurorum: sed præcipue ex genere Saxonum, qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges—sedibus propriis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur." *Vita*, c. 20. Dr Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 101—39.

and monasteries. One of these his biographer describes at length, and we gain a vivid conception of the civilizing effects of such institutions at this period. Screened by a lofty mountain and a dense forest and surrounded by a moat, the gardens of the monastery were filled with flowers and fruit-trees of every kind, while a colony of monks employed the intervals of devotion in various kinds of handicraft, under the superintending eye of the skilful master of the royal mint[1]. Nothing shocked him more in his journeys from place to place than the sight of the bodies of malefactors hanging on gibbets and slowly rotting in the air. Wherever he saw such he always had them removed and decently interred. On one occasion his attendants had taken down the body of a man who had been hung that very morning, and were preparing a grave, when Eligius fancied he saw a quivering motion which gave sign of life not being quite extinct. He immediately used all his efforts to restore vitality, and was successful. "What a sin it would have been to have buried this man alive," was his simple remark to his followers, anxious to ascribe the man's restoration to miraculous agency; "let him be clothed, and rest awhile." It was with difficulty, however, that he rescued him from his accusers, who declaimed furiously against any mitigation of his punishment, and succeeded in obtaining his pardon from the king[2].

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 640. *Various Philanthropic Efforts.*

In such works of charity, and the duties of the lower clerical office, he found ample employment, till his elevation, in the year 641, to the bishopric of Noyon[3] opened to him a still more direct and special sphere of usefulness. His diocese comprised the districts of Noyon, Vermondes, and Tournay, and was inhabited in great part by barbarous heathen tribes, who had never yet received the mes-

A.D. 641.

[1] *Vita S. Eligii*, c. 16.
[2] Ibid. c. 31.
[3] Not however before "sub clericatus normula aliqua temporis curricula exegisset." *Vita*, lib. II. c. 2.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 641—659.

sage of the Gospel. Here, in spite of imminent peril to himself, and amidst every hardship, he strove to win over by his consistent life and ceaseless self-devotion the savage hearts of his people. He founded churches and monasteries, and traversed his diocese in every part, proclaiming the Word to the people, and warning them against their idolatries.

His sermons.

Fragments of some of his sermons have been preserved by his biographer, which are interesting as giving us an insight into the way in which, in the seventh century, a bishop like Eligius would provide for the spiritual wants of his people. In these, while, on the one hand, we find exhortations to a diligent cultivation of such Christian graces as love, faith, self-denial, purity and concord, to a careful attention to Christian ordinances, as prayer, attendance at church, hearing the Word, and the reception of the Lord's Supper, we find, on the other, exhortations to avoidance of all such heathen superstitions as were then rife in the country. In one sermon, after a persistent protest against the idea that men can win the favour of the Almighty by the mere performance of external ceremonies, the bishop proceeds, "It sufficeth not, my brethren, that ye be called Christians, if ye do not the works of a Christian. That man alone is benefited by the name of a Christian, who, with his whole heart, keeps the precepts and laws of Christ, who abstains from theft, from bearing false witness, from lying, from perjury, from adultery, from hatred of his fellow-man, from strife and discord. For these commands Christ Himself vouchsafed to give us in His Gospel, saying, 'Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, honour thy father and thy mother, and love thy neighbour as thyself; whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them, for this is the law and the prophets.' Nay, He adds

Christian practice.

tronger commands than these, for He says, 'Love your nemies: bless them that curse you: do good to them that ate you: pray for them that despitefully use you, and ersecute you[1].' Behold, this is a hard and difficult comand, and seems impossible to men, but it has a great eward; for hear what He declares it is, 'That ye may e the children of your Father which is in heaven.' O hat grace is here! Of ourselves we are not worthy to be Iis servants, and yet by loving our enemies we become he sons of God. He then who wishes to be a Christian ndeed must keep these commandments. He who keepeth hem not deceiveth himself. He is a good Christian who utteth his trust not in amulets or devices of dæmons, but n Christ alone.

Avoidance of heathen superstition.

"But above all things, if ye would be Christians indeed, eware of resorting to any heathen customs, or consulting n any trial or difficulty soothsayers, fortune-tellers, or liviners[2]. He who doeth thus speedily loseth the grace of iis baptism. Let there be amongst you no resorting to uguries or observance of the flight or singing of birds hen ye set out on a journey. Rather when ye undertake journey or any business sign yourselves in the name of Christ, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with faith nd devotion, and no enemy will draw nigh to hurt you. No Christian will choose superstitiously a lucky day for oing out or coming in, for all days are made by God[3]. No Christian will attend to the moon before commencing ny undertaking, or on the first of January will join in

[1] St Matt. v. 44.

[2] In another place he tells his earers, "mathematici spernendi, uguria horrescenda, somnia conemnenda ... si quos cognoscitis vel culte aliqua phylacteria exercere, xpedit cum eis nec cibum sumere, ec quicquam habere commercii." l. c. 15.

[3] In another place this is still further expanded: "Nemo vel in ulla re minima diaboli sequatur adinventiones: nullus sive exiens, sive egrediens domum, observet quid sibi occurrat, vel num qua vox reciproca seu echo audiatur, aut quid aves garriant, vel quid sit quod portat si factus obviam." *Vita*, II. c. 15.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 641—659. *God and Nature.*

foolish and unseemly junketings and frivolity, or nocturnal revellings. Neither heaven, nor earth, nor stars, nor any other creature, is deserving of worship. God alone is to be adored, for He created and ordained all things. Heaven indeed is high, and the earth wide, and the stars passing fair, but far grander and fairer must He be who made all these things. For if the things that we see are so incomprehensible and past understanding, even the various fruits of the earth, and the beauty of the flowers, and the diverse kinds of animals in earth, air, and water, the instinct of the provident bee, the wind blowing where it listeth, the crash of the thunder, the changes of the seasons, the alternations of day and night; if these things that we see with our eyes cannot be comprehended by the mind of man, how shall we comprehend the things we do not see? Or what kind of Being must He be by whom all these things are created and sustained? Fear Him, my brethren, before all things, adore and love Him, cleave fast to His longsuffering, and never despair of His tender mercy."

In other sermons the bishop enlarges on the promises made by the Christian at his baptism, on the duty of remembering them in the course of daily life, on the true aspect and responsibility of life as a state of warfare against sin, and a preparation for the Great Day, when an account must be given for the deeds done in the body. *The Day of Judgment.* On this latter topic the exhortations of the bishop are powerful in their reality and earnestness. "Let us reflect," he says, "what terror ours will be, when from heaven the Lord shall come to judge the world, before whom the elements shall melt in a fervent heat, and heaven and earth shall tremble, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. Then while the trumpets of the angels sound, all men, good and evil, shall in a moment of time rise with the bodies they wore on earth, and be led before the tribunal of Christ; then shall all the tribes of the earth

nourn, while He points out to them the marks of the nails wherewith He was pierced for our iniquities, and shall peak unto them and say, 'I formed thee, O man, of the lust of the earth; with my own hands I fashioned thee, nd placed thee all undeserving in the delights of Paralise; but thou didst despise Me and my words, and didst prefer to follow the deceiver; for which thou wast justly condemned. But yet I did pity thee, I took upon Me thy lesh, I lived on earth amongst sinners, I endured reproach nd stripes for thy sake; that I might rescue thee from unishment, I endured blows and to be spitted on; that I might restore to thee the bliss of Paradise, I drank vinegar mingled with gall. For thy sake was I crowned with thorns, and crucified, and pierced with the spear. For thy sake did I die, and was laid in the grave, and descended into Hades, that I might bring thee back to Paradise. Behold and see what I endured for thy sake! Behold the mark of the nails wherewith I was fixed to the Cross! I took upon Me thy sorrows, that I might heal thee. I took upon Me thy punishment, that I might crown thee with glory. I endured to die, that thou mightest live for ever. Though I was invisible, yet for thy sake I became incarnate. Though I knew no suffering, yet for thy sake I deigned to suffer. Though I was rich, yet for thy sake I became poor. But thou didst despise my lowliness and my precepts, thou didst obey a deceiver rather than Me. My justice, therefore, cannot pronounce any other sentence than such as thine own works deserve. Thou didst chose thine own ways, receive then thine own wages. Thou didst despise light, let darkness, then, be thy reward. Thou didst love death, depart, then, to perdition. Thou didst obey the Evil One, go, then, with him, into eternal punishment.'"

In the lips of the preacher these were no empty words. He lived in the constant realization of that awful Day

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 641—659.

whose coming he thus vividly describes. His life was lightning, therefore could he make his words thunder. With unwearied activity he persevered in his self-denying labours till his seventieth year. Increasing weakness, at last, warned him that his end was near; and he spoke of it openly on one occasion, as he was walking in Noyon to a church with some of his younger clergy. Noticing a defect in the building which threatened its speedy fall, he sent for a workman to have it repaired. His companions suggested that the repairs should be deferred till such time as they could be completely carried out. "Let it be repaired now, my children," he said; "for if it is not done now, I shall never live to see it finished." To their expressions of sorrow at such a speedy loss of their friend and guide, he replied, that he had long felt the day of his departure was coming, and he would not be sorry to leave the world. Shortly afterwards worse symptoms appeared, but he still continued his labours of love, so far as he was able. He employed the last days of his life in solemnly charging his monastic brethren to remember their vows, and not to forsake the flock of Christ, but to labour diligently to carry on his work. When he felt that his hour was really come, clasping his hands in prayer, he said, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart, according to thy word. Remember, O Lord, I am but dust, and enter not into judgment with thy servant. Remember me, O Thou that alone art free from sin, Christ the Saviour of the world. Lead me forth from the body of this death, and give me an entrance into thy heavenly kingdom. Thou who hast ever been my protector, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. I know that I do not deserve to behold Thy face, but Thou knowest how my hope was always in thy mercy, and my trust in thy faithfulness. Receive me, then, according to thy lovingkindness, and let me not be disappointed of my hope."

Later years of St Eloy.

His death.

CHAP. VIII.

With these words he departed. In addition to the care of his own people, the good bishop had not been unmindful of the Frisians, whose extensive territory bordered on his diocese, and it was on the Frisian coast that one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon missionaries landed about twenty years after his death, to impart to his own countrymen the blessings he himself had received from Rome and from Iona. Eighty years had now elapsed since Augustine landed on the shores of Kent, little more than fifty since Paulinus preached the word at York, and Aidan opened his monastery at Lindisfarne. And now it was from Northumbria that the first of that numerous band went forth which soon began to rival the zeal of the Celtic monks in seeking the evangelization of their kinsmen according to the flesh. The last time we encountered Wilfrid, he was at the Synod of Whitby, aiding Agilbert in his controversy with the Scottish party. Since then he had seen strange vicissitudes of fortune, and was flying from what he deemed the tyranny of archbishop Theodore, determined to seek redress at Rome, when the ship in which he sailed was flung by a violent tempest on the coast of Friesland, in the year 678. He was hospitably received by the king Aldgis, and the natives, like those of Malta mentioned by St Luke, treated the shipwrecked crew with no little kindness, "though as yet," the biographer[1] of the bishop remarks, "they were firmly attached to their idolatrous superstitions." By way of repaying their kindness, the bishop preached the word to the people, and his exertions were rewarded by the conversion of the king, several of the chiefs, and some thousands of the people[2]. His coming was also believed to have improved the temporal fortunes of the people, who had

A.D. 659.

A.D. 678. *Anglo-Saxon missionaries.*

Wilfrid.

A.D. 678—9. *Preaches in Friesla.*

[1] *Vita S. Wilfridi Episcopi, Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III.

[2] Thomas Fuller quaintly remarks that "as the nightingales sing the sweetest when furthest from their nests, so Wilfrid did the best service to Christianity when furthest from home."

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 678—9.

previously been suffering from drought and bad seasons, and had hardly been able to obtain a livelihood. But with his coming the harvest improved, and the fishing was marvellously successful. The belief that these temporal advantages were the result of his coming, and of the faith which he preached, probably paved the way for its reception amongst the people[1]. But Wilfrid's stay was brief, and on the death of Aldgis, the heathen Radbod succeeded to the chieftaincy, and the pagan customs were restored. After an interval, however, of little more than ten years, another Northumbrian of noble birth was seized with a desire to preach the word in this district, and, though not able to carry out his designs in person, was the means of sending other labourers into the field. This was Ecgbert[2], the same who afterwards persuaded the monks of Iona to adopt the Roman custom in the celebration of Easter. Like many of his fellow-countrymen, he had left his native land to study in retirement amongst the Irish schools, and had been received there with the wonted hospitality extended at this period to all such students. He took up his abode in a monastery which Colgan places in Connaught[3], and became eminent for his learning and piety. Recovering from a severe illness, he made a vow that he would never return to his country, but devote

Egbert. A.D. 690.

[1] "Erat autem ante adventum beati viri terra ipsa magne salsitatis magnæque sterilitatis. Verum ad prædicationem viri Dei eadem gente Fidem Domini suscipiente, sicut corda eorum supernæ dulcedinis rore ad fertilitatem operum bonorum mollita, et inhabitatione Spiritus Sancti sunt accommoda facta; ita et terræ ipsorum salsitas in dulcedinem, sterilitas in fertilitatem, asperitas in mollitiem atque pinguedinem versa, omnibus inhabitantibus eam diversæ commoditatis copias lautissime intulit." *Vita S. Wilfridi, Acta SS. Bened.* Eddius, cap. 25.

[2] In the *Chronicon Hyense* (Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 383) he is styled, "Eicbericht Christi miles." "Qui in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in Scripturis et longæ vitæ perfectione eximius." Bede, III. 4.

[3] "In monasterio quod lingua Scottorum Rathmelsigi appellatur." Bede, III. 27. "Colgan (*Acta SS.* Index voc. *Rath-milsige*) places it in Connaught, but the exact situation remains to be identified." Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 379.

himself to the service of the Lord. An opportunity before long appeared to present itself. The condition of the pagan nations in Northern Germany[1] was a subject of deep solicitude in Ecgbert's retreat, and he was filled with a desire to proclaim amongst them the Gospel; intending, if he failed in this, to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. But both his designs proved abortive. In spite of a vision bidding him remain and "instruct the monasteries of Columba," he selected the most zealous of his brethren, and made every preparation for the voyage. But on the eve of their embarkation a storm shattered the vessel which was to have conveyed the missionaries, and Ecgbert, recognizing the hand of Providence, returned to Ireland[2]. One of his companions, Wigbert, succeeded in reaching Frisia, but after two years of unceasing labour, finding himself utterly unable to make any impression on the people or Radbod their chief, he too returned to his Irish monastery and reported his ill-success to his abbot. The latter however was not willing thus to give up his project altogether. News of the successes of Pepin of Heristal in Frisia revived his hopes, and he began to seek for labourers who would carry out his wishes. His eye at last rested on Willibrord, a native of Northumbria, whose education commenced in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, had for twelve years been carried on under his own direction in Ireland[3]. He was now thirty-two years of age, and in Ecgbert's opinion possessed many qualifications for such an undertaking. Yielding to the solicitations of his abbot, he agreed to select eleven companions[4], and try

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 690.

Willibrord.

A.D. 692.

[1] "Proposuit... aliquibus eorum quæ nondum audierant gentibus evangelizando committere... Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Dani, Hunni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii." Bede, v. 9.

[2] Bede, v. 9.

[3] *Vita S. Willibrordi ap. Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III. p. 564. Bede, v. 10. *Annales Xantenses*, Pertz, II. 220.

[4] Their names are given in Surius, *Mart.* I.; but the authenticity is plainly dubious.

CHAP. VIII. once more what could be effected. Pepin received the missionaries with joy, and gave them ample authority to commence their labours in that part of Friesland which he had lately wrested from Radbod and added to the Frankish territory.

A.D. 692. *Labours in Frisia.*

Shortly afterwards, with that respect for the Roman Church which had now taken so firm a hold of the Anglo-Saxon mind, Willibrord repaired to the Eternal City, and sought the blessing of the Pope on his undertaking, as also a supply of relics to place in such temples as he might wish to purge from the leprosy of heathenism, and convert into Christian churches[1]. Successful in the object of his journey, he returned and entered upon his work, and shewed such zeal and devotion, and attained such satisfactory results, that at the expiration of four years Pepin sent him again to Rome, with the request that he might be elevated to the episcopal rank[2]. Sergius complied, and in the year 696 the Anglo-Saxon priest was consecrated under the name of Clemens[3], and his seat as archbishop was fixed at Wilteburg, the Roman Trajectum[4]. Meanwhile one of his original companions, Suidbert, had been consecrated bishop in England, and commenced labouring in that capacity among the Boructuarians, whose territory lay between the Ems and the Yssel. His work however was speedily cut short by an irruption of the Saxons, and he was obliged to withdraw to the Lower Rhine, where Pepin made over to him the island of Kaiserworth for a monastery[5].

A. . 696.

Suidbert.

A.D. 696.

Willibrord, on his return from Rome, established him-

[1] Bede, v. 11.

[2] *Vita S. Willibrordi, Acta SS. Bened.* III. *Annal. Xantenses,* A.D. 690. Pertz, II. 220.

[3] "Willibrordum Fresonum archiepiscopum consecrat, eique Clementi nomen tribuit." Jaffè, *Regest. Pont. Rom.* ann. 696.

[4] *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium,* Pertz, II. 277. Bede, v. 11.

[5] Suidbert (also a Northumbrian) was consecrated by Wilfrid, who would naturally take an interest in the Frisian mission, in 693, "qui tunc forte patria pulsus in Mercionum regionibus exulabat." Bede, v. 11.

self at Wilteburg, and succeeded in evangelizing a considerable portion of Frankish Frisia, and building several churches and monasteries[1], being assisted in carrying on his work by the brethren whom he had already brought over from Ireland, or who came out when they heard of the opening in the Frisian territory.

In the year 697, Radbod, the Frisian chief, sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Pepin[2], and Willibrord endeavoured to win him over to the Christian faith. But though he would not oppose his preaching in his kingdom, he himself, like Penda in England, declined to listen to his overtures. Thereupon the archbishop determined to penetrate even into Denmark, but the terror inspired by Ongend, a ferocious Dane, rendered his efforts utterly unavailing. Contenting himself, therefore, with purchasing thirty boys[3], whom he resolved to take back with him to Utrecht, and educate as future missionaries, he made sail homewards. On his return he very nearly lost his life on the island of Heligoland. So sacred was this island, which then went by the name of *Fositesland*, that it was forbidden to touch any animal living there, or, except in solemn silence, to drink of its holy well[4]. The archbishop, however, being flung upon its shores by a tempest, and having to wait some time for a fair wind, killed some of the sacred cattle to provide food for the crew, and baptized three men in the sacred spring. The natives, horror-struck

Willibrord in Fositesland.

[1] Bede, v. 11. "Nam non multo post alios quoque illis in regionibus ipse constituit antistites ex eorum numero fratrum qui vel secum, vel post se illuc ad prædicandum venerunt."

[2] See Perry's *Franks*, p. 235. About 12 years after this we find the son of Pepin, Grimoald, marrying Theudelinda, daughter of the Frisian monarch.

[3] Alcuin, in his *Life of Willibrord*, tells us that "in eo ipso itinere catechizatos eosdem pueros fonte salubri abluit, ne aliquid propter pericula longioris viæ, vel ex insidiis ferocissimorum illius terræ habitatorum damnum pateretur in illis; volens antiqui hostis prævenire insidias, et Domini sacramentis animas munire acquisitas." *Vita*, c. 9. Mabillon, *Act. Ben.* III. 566.

[4] Mabillon, *Act. Ben.* III. p. 566. Adam. Brem. *de Situ Daniæ*. Grimm, *D. M.* 210, 211.

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A.D. 696.

at his audacity, expected the god would instantly vindicate his power by striking him with immediate death, or madness, and, when nothing ensued, they recounted what had occurred to Radbod. The latter summoned Willibrord into his presence, and decided that one of the offenders must die. Thrice were the lots cast before the victim could be determined[1]. At last one was taken and put to death to appease the wrath of the insulted Fosite[2]. The archbishop when he was asked by Radbod to explain his conduct, replied in terms which were certainly explicit: "It is not a god[3]," O king, "whom thou worshippest, but a devil, who has seduced thee into fatal error. For there is no other but one God, who made the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all things that are therein. He who worships this God with true faith shall receive eternal life. I am His servant, and I testify unto thee this day, that thou must abandon these dumb idols which thy fathers worshipped, and believe in One God Almighty, and be baptized in the fount of life, and wash away thy sins, and, abjuring thy iniquities, become henceforth a new man, and walk in newness of life. If thou dost, thou shalt enjoy eternal life with God and His saints, but if thou despisest me, and the way of salvation I declare unto thee, know assuredly that thou shalt suffer eternal punishment and everlasting fire with the Wicked One whom thou obeyest." The king, we are told, marvelled at the boldness of this speech, and acknowledging that the bishop's words corresponded with his deeds, sent him back with an honourable escort to Pepin. Encouraged by the protection of the latter, and of his successor Charles Martel, Willibrord now pushed forward his spiritual conquests, visited all parts of his diocese, and preached the word in every town

Summoned before Radbod.

A.D. 714.

[1] Compare a similar occurrence in the life of Willehad, below, chap. x.

[2] He was a son of Baldr and Nanna, "he settles all quarrels, and neither gods nor men know any better judgments than his." Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, p. 30.

[3] Mabillon, *Act. Bened.* III. p. 567.

and village that professed to have received the faith, adjuring them to stand fast and to glorify God by a consistent life. The consequence was that many more were added to the numbers of the Church, and made over to him grants of land on which to erect churches and monasteries[1]. Meanwhile many Anglo-Saxons left their native land, and eagerly associated themselves in the labours of the archbishop, either in Frisia or the adjacent country[2]. Among these were two brothers, named Ewald, distinguished from one another by the colour of their hair[3]. Selecting the territory of the Old Saxons, they made their way thither, and in the first village they entered met with a hospitable reception. Encouraged by this, they announced to their host that they wished to be led into the presence of the ealdorman[4], for whom they had a message of the utmost importance. The introduction was promised, and they remained at the house of the reeve for some days. Meanwhile their daily prayers, psalmody, and mysterious rites, provoked the suspicions of the Saxons, and they were afraid lest, if introduced into the presence of their chief, they might prevail upon him to forsake his ancestral faith, and draw away with him the whole tribe into apostasy. They, therefore, one day fell upon them unexpectedly, and put them to death. Ewald "the fair" was decapitated; his brother was reserved for more cruel tortures, and was hacked to pieces. But the ealdorman did not approve of

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 714.

The brothers Ewald.

A.D. 695.

[1] Amongst these was the father of Liudger, Wursing, who with his family and relatives greatly aided the labours of the archbishop. *Acta S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. Though not a Christian, he is described as "defensor oppressorum, adjutor pauperum, in judicio quoque justus." Which virtues naturally provoked the hostility of Radbod, who expelled him from the country.

[2] See Perry's *Franks*, p. 237.

[3] Bede, v. 10. They also had been trained in Ireland. "Pro diversa capillorum specie unus Niger Hewald, alter Albus Hewald diceretur."

[4] "Non enim," writes Bede, "habent reges iidem antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos, qui, ingruente belli articulo, mittunt æqualiter sortes, et, quemcunque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur."

CHAP. VIII. this cold-blooded murder. Considering that an insult had
A.D. 695. been offered to his authority, he slew all the inhabitants of the village, and laid it in ashes. The bodies of the brothers were dragged from the Rhine, into which they had been flung, and were buried with much pomp at Cologne by order of Pepin[1]. Another Anglo-Saxon simi-
Adelbert. larly distinguished by missionary zeal was Adelbert[2], a prince of the royal race of Northumbria, who selected the north of Holland as the scene of his toils, and was long held in veneration as their spiritual father by the inhabitants of Egmond, where the missionary lived and
Werenfrid. died. He was quickly followed by Werenfrid, who made Elste his head-quarters, and thence propagated the Gospel among the Batavi, dwelling on the island formed by the
Plechelm, Otger, Wiro. Rhine and the Wahal. Plechelm, Otger, and Wiro, were three other Anglo-Saxons[3] who laboured amongst the people of Gueldres, and were highly favoured by Pepin.

The labours of Willibrord were further lightened by
Wulfram of Sens. the assistance of Wulfram bishop of Sens. The exact period when he appeared in the Frisian mission-field is somewhat
A.D. c. 695—719. doubtful, but it was the fame of the archbishop's success which induced him to join him in the work and to share his toils. His own elevation to the bishopric of Sens coincides with the year 690, and shortly afterwards he applied to the abbot of Fontenelle for monks to accompany him to Frisia[4], and embarking on the Seine arrived in that country, baptized a son of Radbod, and preached with considerable success. Several incidents which occurred during his sojourn in the country tended to make a considerable impression on the minds of the people. Wulfram

[1] Bede, v. 10.

[2] Mabillon, *Acta Bened.* III. 586.

[3] See Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, II. 334.

[4] "Ad præfatum Fontinellæ Monasterium perveniens, de eodem loco cooperatores verbi strenuos et ad prædicandum idoneos, utpote actione simul et eruditione præclaros assumens,...in portu ejusdem monasterii navem ascendit." *Vita S. Wulframmi, Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III. 1. p. 342.

found them addicted[1] to the custom of immolating human beings in sacrifice to their gods. Some were hung on gibbets, others were strangled, others were drowned in the sea or the river. Once, on the occasion of a great festival, the bishop beheld a boy led forth for this purpose. The gallows had been erected, and a vast crowd had assembled in expectation of the scene. The bishop expostulated with Radbod on the cruelty of such practices, and implored him to let the boy's life be spared. Radbod replied that his request could not be granted, the lot had been cast and had marked out the boy as the selected victim, and the Frisian law required that he must suffer. Still the bishop persisted in interceding for his life, and at last, with a sneer the chiefs who stood round Radbod said, "If your Christ can rescue this boy from death, he may be His servant and yours for ever." Thereupon he was placed under the beam, and thrown off in the sight of a vast concourse of Christians and heathens. Wulfram meanwhile, so his biographer records, threw himself on his knees, and prayed that if it was God's will, He would glorify His name by saving the boy's life. His prayer was no sooner ended than the rope broke and the victim fell to the ground. Wulfram hurried to the spot, and finding life not yet extinct, took measures for recovering him from the swoon into which he had fallen. The people ascribed this result to miracle, and the fame of the bishop spread abroad in all directions. The boy, together with others whom he had similarly saved from a cruel death, were sent to Fontenelle to be educated in his monastery[2]. On another occasion the two sons of a widow woman, one seven the other five years of

CHAP. VIII.
A.D. 695—719.
Human Sacrifices.

[1] "Mos pessimus prædicto incredulorum duci inerat ut corpora hominum damnatorum in suorum solemniis deorum, sæpissime diversis litaret modis; quosdam videlicet gladiatorum animadversionibus interimens, alios patibulis appendens, aliis laqueis acerbissime vitam extorquens; præterea et alios marinorum sive aquarum fluctibus instinctu diabolico submergebat." *Vita S. Wulframmi.* Mabillon, *Acta Ord. Bened.* III. 344.

[2] *Vita S. Wulframmi, Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III. I. 344.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 695—719.

age, were selected after casting lots for sacrifice to the gods. A stake was erected on the sea-shore, to which the boys were fastened, and they were left to the mercy of the rising tide, in a spot where two seas met. As the tide crept nearer, the elder of the two children tried by supporting the other on his shoulders to save him for a time from his too certain doom. Amidst the vast crowd that had flocked to the shore to witness the cruel spectacle one heart alone was touched. The bishop went boldly into the presence of Radbod, and begged the life of the children, declaring it iniquitous that beings made in the image of God should be exposed to the sport of dæmons. "If your God Christ," Radbod replied, "will deliver them from their present peril, you may have them for your own." Thereupon the bishop prayed mightily to God, and, as the story runs, the waves seemed suddenly to gather into a heap and leave the spot where the children stood, so that it became as dry land. Then the bishop flung himself into the waves, and seizing one of the children in his right hand and the other in his left, conveyed them safe to land and restored them to their mother. They were afterwards baptized, together with a considerable number of the Frisians[1].

Two Children saved from death.

Effect on the Frisians.

It is easy to imagine that incidents like these would make a strong impression upon the people; and it is not surprising that the missionary's expostulations won the respect of many who must in their inmost hearts have revolted from such cruel scenes. Even Radbod's son consented, as we have already said, to receive baptism[2], and that cruel chief himself at one period entertained serious thoughts of following his example. He even approached the baptismal font, but stopped on the way to ask the

[1] *Vita S. Wulframmi, Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. III. 1. 344, 5.

[2] For other indications of Radbod's better feelings, especially during the last days of his life, see *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 405.

bishop, "adjuring him to tell the truth," whether if he received the rite, he might hope to meet in heaven his Frisian ancestors, or whether they were in that place of torment of which he had been told[1]. "Do not deceive thyself," was the prelate's uncompromising reply; "in the presence of God assuredly is the ordained number of his elect; as for thy ancestors the chiefs of Frisia who have departed this life without baptism, it is certain that they have received the just sentence of damnation." Thereupon Radbod drew back from the font, and declined to receive the rite, preferring, he said, to join his own people, wherever they might be, rather than sit down in the kingdom of heaven with a handful of beggars[2]: and as yet he could not assent to these new doctrines, and preferred to remain constant to the belief of his own people. The obstinacy of the chief perplexed the bishop not a little. A last effort to overcome his scruples appears to have been made while Radbod was confined to his bed by the disease which eventually terminated in his death. But this also was frustrated by an incident which is too curiously illustrative of the ideas of the times to be omitted. "One day," writes the biographer of Wulfram, "while Radbod was lying sick, the Evil One, who is sometimes permitted to transform

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 719.

Radbod at the Baptismal Font.

[1] "Juramentis eum per nomen Domini astringens." Neander (v. 60) remarks, "that this characteristic incident, though the chronicle cannot be entirely depended on, may nevertheless be true...The barbarous chief, was, doubtless, only seeking a pretext to reject, in a half faltering way, the proposal that he should embrace Christianity; still this incident may serve to illustrate how the spread of Christianity was hindered and checked by the narrow and tangled views of its doctrines which had grown up out of the ordinances of the Church." Rettberg and Ozanam consider the whole story an invention devised in behalf of the rigid predestinarian doctrine. The circumstance is mentioned in the *Annales Xantenses* as occurring in the year 718, as also Radbod's death in the next year 719. Pertz, II. 221.

[2] "Hæc audiens Dux incredulus, nam ad fontem processerat, infelix pedem a fonte retraxit, dicens non se carere posse consortio prædecessorum suorum Principum Fresionum, et cum parvo numero pauperum residere in illo cœlesti regno: quin potius non facile posse nobis dictis adsensum præbere, sed potius permansurum se in his quæ multo tempore cum omni Fresionum gente servaverat." *Vita S. Wulframmi*, c. 9.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 719.

himself into an angel of light, appeared to him, crowned with a golden diadem, studded with brilliant gems, and arrayed in a robe spangled with gold[1]. While the chief trembled with astonishment, his visitor asked him reproachfully, 'Tell me, who has so seduced thee, that thou wishest to give up the worship of thy gods, and the religion of thy ancestors? be not deceived, continue constant to the faith thou hast been taught, and thou shalt assuredly sit down in the golden mansions of bliss, which I have appointed for thee in the world to come. And now that thou mayest know the truth of my words, go to-morrow to that Bishop Wulfram, and ask of him where is that mansion of eternal splendour which he promises thee if thou wilt receive the Christian faith; and when he fails to show it thee, then let two messengers, one of each faith, be sent, and I will lead the way, and show them the mansion of eternal glory, which I am about to give to thee hereafter.' In the morning, Radbod did as he was bid, and told Wulfram of the vision. But the latter was not to be duped: 'This is an illusion of the devil,' said he, 'who wishes all men to perish, and none to be saved. But be not thou deceived, hasten to the font, believe in Christ, and receive the remission of thy sins. As for the golden mansions which thy visitor has promised thee, believe him not, for he it is that seduceth the whole world; by his pride he fell from his place in heaven, and from a beneficent angel became the enemy of mankind.' Radbod replied that he was willing to be baptized, but he should like first to see the mansion which his own deity had promised him. Thereupon Wulfram sent the messenger, his own deacon, and a heathen Frisian. They had not gone

[1] Radbod's illness is also mentioned in the *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 405. "sex annis continuis ante diem mortis suæ paulatim traxit dolorem, cœpitque regnum ejus deficere, regnum quoque Francorum augmentando proficere."

far before they met one in human form, who said to them, 'Make haste, for I am about to show you the glorious abode which his god has prepared for prince Radbod.' The messengers followed their guide, and after a long journey they came to a street paved with different kinds of marble, at the end of which was a golden house of marvellous beauty and splendour; entering it, they beheld a throne of immense size, and their guide addressing them, said, 'This is the mansion, and glorious palace, which his god has promised to bestow on prince Radbod after his death.' The deacon, astonished at the sight, made the sign of the Cross, and replied, 'If these things have been made by Almighty God, they will remain for ever, but if they be the work of the devil, they will speedily vanish.' He had no sooner spoken these words, than their guide was instantly changed into the form of the Prince of darkness, and the golden palace into mud; and the messengers found themselves in the midst of a huge morass, filled with reeds and rushes. A tedious journey of three days brought them back to Wulfram, and they recounted what had befallen them." But they returned too late for their intelligence to be of any avail to the pagan chief, by assuring him that he had been deceived by the Prince of darkness. Before their arrival he had paid the debt of nature without receiving baptism, because, in the words of Wulfram's biographer, "he was not of the sheep of Christ, nor ordained unto eternal life." But the news of this marvellous occurrence made a deep impression on the Frisians. Multitudes of them agreed to receive the rite which their chief had scorned, and gladdened the heart of Wulfram by, at least, a nominal profession of Christianity, before his death in the following year[1]. On the death of Radbod, Charles Martel

A.D. 719.

A.D. 720.

[1] This is the year given by Mabillon and in the *Annales Xantenses* (Pertz, II. 221): others say that he lived till 741.

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 720.

once more reduced the Frisians to a state of nominal subjection, and Willibrord was enabled to push forward his missionary operations with greater hope of permanent success. But he had been already joined by a still more eminent fellow-labourer, whose success speedily eclipsed his own, and who won for himself the name of the "Apostle of Germany." His labours must form the subject of our **next Chapter.**

CHAPTER IX.

ST BONIFACE AND THE CONVERSION OF GERMANY.

A.D. 715—755.

"E stirpe natus regia Bonifacius,
Britanniam ultro deserens,
Auctoritate pontificis summi, fuit
Apostolus Germaniæ."

Partial character of the results hitherto attained.

Up to this time the propagation of Christianity in Germany had been effected not so much by general organized plans, as by the voluntary activity of individuals. Between the various missionaries, whether Irish or Anglo-Saxon, there had been little union or concert, nor had anything like a general supervision of the different fields of labour been possible[1]. The vast Teutonic pagan world had as yet been but partially assailed. Enthusiastic monks from Ireland had erected many outposts of civilization on its borders, and Wilfrid and Willibrord had shown what might be effected when Teutons were Apostles of Teutons. But no one had yet appeared to conduct the great work on one definite plan, to consolidate the various missionary bodies, to lead them forth under one banner, and to encounter German idolatry in its strongholds. This work was reserved for an Anglo-Saxon, the well-known Winfrid, or, as he was afterwards called, Boniface[2], "the father of Christian civilization in Germany."

[1] Gieseler, II. 214.

[2] This name was probably assumed when he became a monk. Bugga, writing to him in 720, calls him "'Bonifacio' sive Winfrido dignissimo Dei presbytero." *Ep.* III. Migne, *Script. Eccles.* sæc. VIII. p. 690. Lingard's *A. S. C.* II. 338.

CHAP. IX.

A.D. 680.

Winfrid, or Boniface.

Birth and Education.

Born at Crediton, or Kirton, in Devonshire, about the year 680, of an old and noble family, he was designed by his parents for a secular career. But at an early period the visit of some monks quickened the desire to embrace the monastic life. The opposition of his father was diverted by the alarm of a dangerous illness, and the boy was removed, when only seven years of age, to a conventual house at Exeter [Adestancastre] under Abbot Wolfard, and thence to Nutescelle in Hampshire, a monastery in the diocese of Winchester, afterwards destroyed by the Danes. Here, under abbot Winberct, he became eminent for his diligence and devotion, for his deep acquaintance with the Scriptures, and skill in preaching. At the age of thirty he received ordination, and his well-known talents procured for him on several occasions high ecclesiastical employments. King Ina honoured him with his confidence, and the united recommendations of his brethren led to his being sent, on more than one occasion, on a confidential mission to archbishop Bertchtwald. He might, therefore, have risen to an honourable position in his native land, but at an early period he had conceived an earnest desire to join the noble band headed by Willibrord, for the success of whose labours in Frisia many a prayer was doubtless put up in the English monasteries. He communicated to his abbot the earnest desire he felt to preach the Gospel to "his kinsmen after the flesh," and though the latter would have dissuaded him from his intention, he repaired to London[1], and thence, with three of the brethren whom he had persuaded to accompany him, crossed the sea to Doerstadt[2].

A.D. 715.

Ineffectual effort in Friesland.

He had hoped to labour successfully in Friesland, but the time of his coming was unpropitious. Radbod was at war

[1] "Pervenit ad locum ubi erat forum rerum venalium, et usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonumque vocabulo appellatur *Lundenwich*." *Vita S. Bonifacii*, Pertz, II. 338.

[2] "Then a flourishing emporium, now almost obliterated from the map, nay even from historical memory." Palgrave's *Normandy*, I. 257.

with Charles Martel, a fierce persecution of the Christians had broken out, and Winfrid was fain to return to his cloister at Nutescelle. CHAP. IX. A.D. 715.

During the ensuing winter the abbot died, and, had Winfrid listened to the solicitations of his brethren, he might have been welcomed as his successor. But the old missionary ardour still burnt fiercely, and with the return of spring he had made up his mind to make another effort in Frisia. Daniel bishop of Winchester favoured his design, and gave him commendatory letters to the Pope, whose consent and patronage he determined to secure before entering on his second enterprize. Accordingly the year 718 saw him again in London, whence he embarked, and quickly reached the coast of Normandy. In the autumn he set out, in company with a large body of pilgrims, through France, offering up fervent prayers in all the most celebrated churches that he might have a successful journey across the Alps, and escape the many dangers to which it was incident. Reaching Rome in safety, he delivered to the Pope, Gregory II., the commendatory letters of his diocesan, and unfolded his design. Gregory gave the ardent monk a hearty welcome, and during the winter discussed with him in frequent interviews the prospects of the mission, and finally gave him a letter authorizing him to preach the Gospel in Germany wherever he might find an opportunity. A.D. 718. *Journey to Rome.* A.D. 719, *Jaffé.*

In the following spring, therefore, armed with this commission, and an ample supply of relics, he set out to make a second effort to propagate the faith. Thuringia was the scene of his earliest labours. Here and in the district already partially evangelized by Rupert of Worms, he endeavoured to induce the clergy to adopt a more rigid form of celibacy, and to reclaim the people who had relapsed in too many instances into idolatry. While thus employed, he received intelligence of the death of Radbod, *Second visit to Frisia.*

CHAP. IX. and immediately repaired to the country of that chieftain.

A.D. 722. The recent successes of Charles Martel had opened a way for the Gospel into the Frisian kingdom, and for three years Winfrid united himself with the missionary band under Willibrord at Utrecht, and in the destruction of many heathen temples, and the rise of Christian churches, saw many encouraging fruits of his labours. Willibrord now feeling the advance of age, was extremely anxious that the energetic monk of Nutescelle should be his successor in the see of Utrecht. But Winfrid firmly declined the honour. In vain the other pleaded and intreated. Winfrid declared that he was not fifty years old, the canonical age for a bishop. When that objection was overruled, he fell back upon his commission from the Pope. It directed him to preach the Gospel in Germany, and to Germany he would go. Willibrord was, therefore, constrained to give way, and Winfrid left him to plunge into the wilds of Hessia. Two native chiefs were attracted by his preaching, and were baptized. A monastery arose at Amöneburg on the Ohun, and the missionary found that the protection of the converted chiefs, and his own acquaintance with the native language, gained for him an access to the hearts of many in Hessia and Saxony. Multitudes followed the example of their chiefs, and accepted baptism. A faithful brother, named Binna, was deputed to announce to Gregory these gratifying results, and the Pope, who could not fail to foresee what might be expected from the labours of so energetic a missionary, summoned him to Rome.

Second visit to Rome.
A.D. 723, *Jaffe.*

Thither Winfrid obediently repaired, escorted by a numerous retinue of Franks and Burgundians, and, in reply to the Pope's questions respecting the faith which he preached, handed in a copy of his Creed. It was duly examined, and after an interval of five days he was again admitted to an audience, and was informed by Gregory that he was completely satisfied, and, in consideration of

the success he had already achieved, was ready to confer upon him the episcopal dignity. Accordingly on the feast of St Andrew, 723, he was consecrated regionary bishop. No particular diocese was, of course, assigned him, but he was entrusted with a general jurisdiction over all whom he might win over from paganism to the Christian fold. Gregory further supplied him with a book of Canons to aid him in the general government of his mission[1], and a Synodal containing instructions for his own personal conduct. At the same time, to cement still closer the bond of union between them, he exacted from the susceptible and conscientious Anglo-Saxon, over the grave of St Peter, the oath which had long been required of bishops within the patriarchate of Rome[2], whereby he solemnly pledged himself to render all ecclesiastical obedience to the Holy See. "I vow to thee," it ran, "the first of the Apostles, to thy vicar, Pope Gregory, and his successors, that, with God's help, I will continue in the unity of the Catholic faith, and in no wise will consent to aught which is contrary to the unity of the same, but will, in all ways, persevere in keeping my pure faith, in communion with thee, and in close adherence to the usages of thy Church, which has received from God the power to bind and to loose; and so I promise to thy Vicar and his successors. And if I at any time learn that the conduct of any ministers of the Church is opposed to the ancient ordinances of the fathers, I will hold no intercourse or communion with them, but will rather hinder their proceedings to the best of my power, and wherever I cannot restrain them,

A.D. 723. *Consecrated regionary Bishop.*

The oath of obedience to the Holy See.

[1] See Migne's *Patrologia*, sæc. VIII. p. 502. The rules have regard (1) to the qualifications of those Boniface was to admit to holy orders, (2) the times of administering orders (non nisi quarti, septimi, et decimi mensis jejuniis, sed et in ingressu quadragesimali), (3) the seasons for celebrating baptism (non nisi in Paschali Festivitate et Pentecoste...exceptis iis quibus mortis urgente periculo, ne in æternum pereant, talibus oportet remediis subvenire), (4) the income of the Church.

[2] Migne, sæc. VIII. p. 498. Gieseler, II. 215. Neander, V. 66.

CHAP. IX. A.D. 723.

will give information thereof to the Pope." It has been pointed out by Guizot, that the political circumstances of the times would naturally render Gregory anxious to obtain such a vow of allegiance from one in whose hands there was a prospect of the development of a great Germanic Church[1]; and we shall see, again and again, how scrupulously conscientious Winfrid, now to be known by the name of Boniface, was in carrying out his instructions. Thus elevated to the episcopal dignity, with letters of commendation to the Mayor of the Frankish palace, to the bishops of Bavaria and Alemannia, and the native chiefs of the countries where he was about to labour, the missionary recrossed the Alps, exhibited his instructions to Charles Martel, and with his permission and full protection recommenced operations in Hessia.

Returns to Hessia.

A.D. 724. *Relapse during his absence.*

He found that matters had not improved during his absence. Some of his converts had remained firm in the faith they had been taught by him, but the majority, still fascinated by the spell of their old superstitions, had blended the new and the old creed in a wild confusion. They still worshipped groves and fountains, still consulted augurs and cast lots, still offered sacrifice on the old altars[2]. Boniface saw that he must take strenuous measures to convince them of the vanity of their old belief. A letter he received about this time from his old friend the bishop of Winchester would have suggested caution in dealing with the primitive superstitions. That prelate, now blind and far advanced in years, had not forgotten the energetic monk he had known in the cloister of Nutscelle, and he now offered him some advice on the way he ought to promote the knowledge of the Gospel. Writing to one

[1] Guizot's *History of Civilization*, II. 174, 330. (E. T.)

[2] *Vita S. Bonifacii*, cap. 8. "Alii lignis et fontibus alii autem aperte sacrificabant. Alii aruspicia et divinationes, præstigia atque incantationes occulte, alii manifeste exercebant."

labouring in the Teutonic mission-field, and doubtless himself well knowing the glamour of Teutonic superstitions, he inculcates delicacy in dealing with the idolatries of their mutual kinsmen. He would have the missionary scrupulously avoid all contemptuous and violent language, he would have him try above all things to cultivate a spirit of patience and moderation. In preference to open controversy, he suggestes that Boniface should put such questions, from time to time, as would tend to suggest the contradictions which the old Teutonic creed involved, especially on the subject of the genealogy of the gods. Useful and wise as was such advice in reference to his general conduct, Boniface deemed that the present juncture required sterner and more uncompromising measures.

Advice of Daniel bishop of Winchester.

Near Giesmar, in upper Hesse, stood an ancient oak, sacred for ages to Donar or Thor, the God of Thunder. By the people of Hesse it was regarded with peculiar reverence, as the rallying-point of the "tings" or assemblies of the whole tribe. Again and again had Boniface declaimed against such gross veneration for "the stock of a tree;" but his sermons had fallen dead on the ears of his hearers. He determined, therefore, to strike a blow at the object of so much superstition, and to remove a constant stumblingblock from the midst of his converts. One day, accompanied by all his clergy, he advanced, axe in hand, to cut down the offending monarch of the forest. The people assembled in thousands to witness the great controversy between the new and the old belief, many enraged at the interference of the strange preacher, many more confident, like the people of Fositesland, that an instant judgment would strike down so daring an offender. But scarcely had the missionary begun to ply his axe than it was apparent that Thor could not defend his own. If he was a god, he was, certainly, either "gone on a journey," or "was asleep and needed awaking;" for in vain

The Sacred Oak of Giesmar.

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A.D. 723.

his votaries supplicated his vengeance. After a few blows of the axe a crashing was heard in the topmost boughs, a mighty rushing wind, says the Chronicler, seemed to shake every branch, and then the leafy idol came down to the ground, and split into four quarters. "The Lord He is the God!" the people shouted, acknowledging the superior might of the new faith, nor did they interfere, when Boniface, as a testimony to the completeness of his victory, directed that an oratory, in honour of St Peter, should be constructed out of the remains of their old divinity. The work now proceeded with vigour, and was prosecuted by the bishop with unflagging energy for a space of ten years. Numbers in Hesse and Thuringia were baptized, heathen temples disappeared, humble churches rose amid the waste forest-lands overspread with oaks; monastic cells sprung up wherever salubrity of soil, and especially the presence of running water, suggested a healthy site; the land was cleared and brought under the plough; the sound of prayer and praise awoke unwonted echoes in the forest-glades, and the simple lives of Boniface's little band of missionaries won the hearts of the rude but hardy tribes.

A.D. 723–730.

"The harvest truly was plenteous, but the labourers were few." Boniface determined to invite assistance from his native land[1]. In a circular letter, therefore, which he addressed about this time to the bishops, clergy, and principal abbots in England, he painted in lively colours the wants of his German converts. "We beseech you," he writes, "that ye will remember us in your prayers, that we may be delivered from the snares of Satan, and from the crafts of wicked men, and that the word of God may have free course and be glorified. Pray for us, and pray to God and our Lord Jesus Christ, who would have all men be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth, that He will vouchsafe to convert to the true faith the hearts

Aid from England.

[1] *Ep.* XXXVI. Migne, *Patrologia*, sæc. VIII. p. 755.

of the pagan Saxons, that they may be delivered from those bonds of the Evil One, wherewith they are held captive. Have compassion on them, brethren. They often say, 'We are of one blood with our brothers in England.' Have pity on them, your kinsmen according to the flesh, and remember that the time for working is short, for the end of all things is at hand, and death cannot praise God, nor can any give Him thanks in the pit. Aid us, then, while yet it is day." The appeal was not ineffectual[1]. Not a few flocked from England to rally round the devoted missionary, and even devout women were found willing to sacrifice the pleasures and comforts of their homes in their native land, and go forth to found or fill the convents which Boniface soon began to inaugurate. "As iron sharpeneth iron," so the countenances of friends from the old country refreshed and invigorated the spirits of the good bishop. By their united efforts a great impression was made amongst the people of Saxony and Thuringia, and numbers were added to the Church. In such results much was doubtless superficial; still the day of small things is never to be despised, least of all in estimating the issues of missionary labour. The suppression, wherever practicable, of idolatrous worship, the destruction with unsparing vigour of its outward monuments, must at least have tended to loosen the hold of old superstitions on the native mind. To believe in the power of Thor or Woden, when their most sacred oaks were suffered to fall with impunity, was hardly possible, especially while the

[1] Amongst those who thus came forth, besides others mentioned below, was Wigberct, who left the monastery of Glastonbury to join Boniface at some period between the years 733 and 738. Amongst the letters of Boniface is preserved one from Wigberct to the brethren at Glastonbury announcing his safe arrival "in confinio paganorum Hassonum ac Saxonum," and that "noster archiepiscopus Bonifacius, cum adventum nostrum audiisset, per semetipsum dignatus est longâ viâ in obviam nos venire ac suscipere valde benigne." *Ep.* LXX. ed. Migne. He was stationed at Fritzlar, where he educated the abbot Sturmi. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben.* III. 625.

CHAP IX. victories of Charles Martel were opening up, day by day,
A.D. 723—730. more and more of the old pagan territory to the light of
Support of Charles Martel. Christian civilization. Whatever others may have done after him, Boniface may claim the merit of having abstained from employing the assistance of the Mayor of the Palace, in *compelling* the people to resort to baptism. Without that assistance, as he himself allows[1], his work would have been wellnigh impossible, but it was confined within strictly legitimate limits. It enabled the bishop to correct the irregularities of his own clergy, to put down the celebration of heathen rites, at least in public; it legalized the establishment of Christian forms of worship; it protected the monasteries as they rose in the forest wastes; but beyond this it can scarcely with fairness be said to have extended. Boniface knew of other and more effectual weapons for winning over the hearts of the people to the Christian faith, than those which a system of compulsory conversion would have dictated. His monasteries were not only seminaries of sound learning, but industrial and agricultural schools, where the rude native of Thuringia or Saxony could learn many of the primary and most useful arts of life. The native missionaries, whom the bishop sent forth from these establishments, when duly trained and educated, may not have learnt much beyond the most elementary truths, still what they knew they endeavoured to practise. They had been taught themselves to repeat in the native tongue the form of renunciation at baptism and the confession of sins; they could explain to the people, at least in some measure, the nature of the rite, and were directed to suffer none to act as godfather or godmother but such as could repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer[2]. In

[1] "Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere, nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania, sine illius mandato et timore, prohibere valeo." *Ep.* XII. Migne, p. 702.

[2] See Neander, v. 73.

the bishop himself they learnt to respect one who was an ardent student of the Scriptures, and indefatigable in expounding them to the people. In the correspondence he kept up with many old friends in England, we find him begging again and again for copies of different portions of the Divine Word. Thus to the abbess Eadburga he writes, to request her to send him the Epistles of St Peter inscribed in gilded letters, that he might use them in preaching; to Cuthbert he writes for copies written in a good clear hand suitable for his weak eyes, as also for commentaries, among which he particularly specifies that of the Venerable Bede[1]. Thus by his own unwearied exertions, aided by devoted disciples, a new empire was won to the Christian faith, and he went on not despising the day of small things, but quietly availing himself of every opportunity to carry out the great object of his life.

Death of Gregory. A.D. 731.

Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Gregory II. Still anxious to maintain his connection with the Holy See, Boniface wrote to Gregory's successor, and besought his blessing on his labours, and in the pall of a metropolitan received a marked recognition of his work. Not content with a distant correspondence[2], he once more crossed the Alps in

Boniface's third visit to Rome.

[1] See especially *Epp.* XIX. XXXVII. XL.

[2] For this correspondence see Migne, sæc. VIII. p. 576. Gregory III.

1. Congratulates the bishop on the success of his missionary efforts.
2. Sends him the pall ("Dum missarum solemnia agis, vel episcopum te contigerit consecrare, illo tantummodo tempore eo utaris").
3. Empowers him to consecrate bishops ("ubi multitudo excrevit fidelium.....pia tamen contemplatione ut non vilescat dignitas episcopatus").
4. Directs (amongst other things)
 (*a*) "Quos a paganis baptizatos esse asseruisti (Ódinic baptism?) si ita habetur, ut denuo baptizes in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis mandamus."
 (*b*) "Inter cetera agrestem caballum aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, plerosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps sines, sed quibus potueris Christo juvante modis per omnia compesce, et dignam eis impone pœnitentiam: *immundum est enim atque execrabile.*"
 (*c*) As to prayers for the dead, "nonnisi pro mortuis ca-

CHAP. IX.

A.D. 738.

the year 738, with a numerous retinue of Franks, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons, and sought a personal interview with Gregory III. The latter received him with more than ordinary respect. He invested him with plenary powers as legate of the Apostolic See, and authorised him to visit and organize the Bavarian Church. With letters accrediting him in his new capacity, Boniface returned in the following spring, and, after a short stay at Ticina with Luitprand king of the Lombards, commenced a thorough visitation of the diocese of Bavaria, and, with the consent of Odilo, added to the solitary see of Passau those of Salzburg, Freisingen, and Ratisbon[1].

Wunibald.

Willibald.

While at Rome the archbishop had learnt that his kinsman Wunibald[2] had come thither from England, and that another kinsman, Willibald, had returned from the Holy Land, and entered the monastery of Monte Cassino. From the former he had exacted a promise to follow him into the great Teutonic mission-field, and had requested Gregory to induce the latter to leave his monastic retreat, and come out to him on the same errand. The two brothers accordingly joined him in the year 740, and Boniface rejoiced in the addition of such welcome aid. Wunibald was consecrated priest, and received the care of seven churches in the newly-converted Thuringia. Willibald[3] was stationed at Eichstadt, then a waste forest-land, which Count Suiger of Hirsberg had bestowed upon the Church. One humble church only existed in the wild and woody district, but the newly-returned pilgrim from Jerusalem en-

A.D. 740—746.

tholicis memoriam faciat presbyter et intercedat."

(*d*) "Rebaptizari jubet eos, qui 'a presbytero Jovi mactante et carnes immolatitias vescente' baptizati sint."

(*e*) "De parricidarum pœnis addit, in quorum numero vult eos quoque haberi qui infidelibus *ad immolandum paganis sua venundent mancipia.*"

[1] On the work in Bavaria see above, p. 156 *n.*

[2] Mabillon, *Act. SS.* III. Part II. 176.

[3] Mabillon, III. Part II. 367.

tered with ardour on his work, and proved himself no unworthy coadjutor of his great relative[1]. But before long from Wimburn Minster in Dorsetshire came forth another relative of the bishop, and the little family circle of devoted missionaries was complete. Boniface had written to Tetta, abbess of Wimburn, requesting that Walpurga[2], Wunibald's sister, as well as any other of his countrywomen as should be willing, might be sent out to share the work in Germany. Walpurga did not shrink from the perils of the enterprise. With thirty companions, amongst whom were Lioba and Thecla, she crossed the sea, and after a joyful meeting with the archbishop proceeded to join her brother Wunibald in Thuringia, and settled for a time in a convent beside him there. Afterwards she accompanied him to Heidenheim in the wilds of Suevia, where they built a church, and after much difficulty, a double monastery for monks and nuns. The companions also of Walpurga before long presided over similar sisterhoods. Thus Lioba[3] was stationed at Bischofsheim on the Tuber, Thecla at Kitzingen in Franconia, Chunichild, another devout sister, in Thuringia, and Chunitrude in Bavaria. It was not always easy to reconcile the natives to the erection of these outposts of civilization in their midst. Many deemed it a profanation of the majestic silence of the old oak-groves, and an insult to the elves and fairies who for untold ages had haunted the primæval solitudes. Many more regarded with much suspicion this intrusion on the old hunting-grounds, and would have preferred that the peace of the wolf and bear should not be disturbed.

Walpurga.

Lioba.

Thecla.

Chunichild.
Chunitrude.

[1] Boniface ordained him priest, and shortly afterwards bishop of Eichstadt, which see he held for upwards of forty years, till A.D. 786. One of the lives of St Boniface is ascribed to him.

[2] Mabillon, *Act. SS. Ben.* III. II. 261. She died in 779 or 780.

[3] Or Lioba, see Surius, Sept. 28. Mabillon, *Act. SS. Ben.* III. II. 221. She was afterwards the friend of Hildegard, consort of Charlemagne, who owed much to her conversation and example.

CHAP. IX. A.D. 740—746.

But as years rolled on, the peaceful lives of the mysterious strangers won their respect, and the sight of waving cornfields reconciled them to the change.

A.D. 741. *Death of Charles Martel.*

But we are anticipating events. In the year 741 Charles Martel died, and Boniface now saw further opportunities opened up for carrying on and consolidating the labours of the various missionary bands. It is true that the great Mayor of the Palace never thwarted his operations, or declined to recognise his authority, but he tolerated many of the clergy whose lives by no means corresponded with their sacred profession, and the gratitude due to the conqueror at Poictiers was somewhat marred by his practice of occasionally pillaging churches and monasteries when he wanted money for his numerous wars. Now that he was dead, the way was clear. Exerting unbounded influence over Carloman and Pepin, Boniface could, without let or hindrance, develop his plans for organizing the German Church. He began by founding four new bishoprics in Hesse and Thuringia, Würzburg, Eichstädt, Bamberg, and Erfurt, and in the following year, proceeded to revive the decayed Synodal system, by calling a council composed of ecclesiastics and the national estates, to make provision for the moral and spiritual superintendence of the newly-formed churches. Eighty years had elapsed since a synod had been summoned, at least in Austrasian France; it was now resolved that they should meet every year.

Revival of the Synodal system.

Boniface, as legate of the Pope, was entrusted with plenary power, but the decrees of the Councils were set forth by the Frankish kings in their own name.

In the Council of 743 many regulations were passed for the better government, not only of the new Germanic Churches, but of the Frankish Church also[1]. The jurisdiction of Boniface over the other bishops was duly confirmed;

[1] One of the decrees of this Council (A.D. 742) marks an era in the history of the rise of the Papal power. "Pelagius II." remarks Hallam

the clergy were enjoined to observe strict celibacy, and forbidden to carry arms, to serve in war, to hunt, or to hawk; they were directed to render all due obedience to the bishop of their respective dioceses, to receive him with due homage at his visitation, and to render a faithful account of the welfare of their several parishes; in co-operation with their bishops they were further directed to use every means in their power to suppress all heathen and superstitious practices, such as sacrifices of men or animals at funerals, impure festivals in honour of heathen deities, worshipping of groves, trees, and springs, all recourse to amulets, incantations, soothsaying, all endeavours to penetrate the secrets of the past or the future by auguries from birds, or horses, or oxen, or casting lots.

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A.D. 741. *Regulations passed in the Synod.*

Besides legislating thus generally for the welfare of the Church, the archbishop was now able to deal more directly with ecclesiastics whose views or practices incurred his suspicion. Some of these belonged to the Scotch and Irish Churches, scattered up and down the country, whose peculiar views as to the limitation of episcopal rights, the celibacy of the clergy, and the supremacy of the Great bishop of the West, were naturally obnoxious to the archbishop. Others, again, were men whose lives were directly contrary to their profession. Like wolves in sheep's clothing they made the faith a cloak for licentiousness, and sometimes went so far as to join the natives in their heathen sacrifices. To such we are well content the archbishop should have given place "no not for an hour;"

A.D. 745. *Ecclesiastical discipline.*

(*Middle Ages*, I. 522), "had, about 560, sent a pallium to the bishop of Arles, perpetual vicar of the Roman see in Gaul, and Gregory I. had made a similar present to other metropolitans. But it never was supposed that they were obliged to wait for this favour before they received consecration until this Council..... It was here enacted, that, as a *token of their willing subjection to the see of Rome, all metropolitans should request the pallium at the hands of the Pope*, and obey his lawful commands. This was construed by the Popes to mean a promise of obedience before receiving the pall, which was changed in after times by Gregory VII. into *an oath of fealty*." See *Ep. Bon.* Zachariæ, LXXV.

CHAP. IX. A D. 745.

they, if any, would be sure to undermine his work, and to cause the Christian name to be disgraced among the heathen. While Charles Martel was alive, Boniface had hardly known how to conduct himself towards such unworthy members of the sacred order, when he encountered them in the royal palace.

Mindful of his oath of fealty to the Pope, he had at an early period consulted his friend Daniel, bishop of Winchester, on the subject. The latter suggested caution, and, if necessary, a little prudent dissimulation. This did not satisfy the conscientious missionary. He opened his heart to Gregory II. and sought from him a resolution of his doubts. The successor of St Peter suggested that he should sharply rebuke such clergy as openly disgraced the dignity of their profession, but counselled caution before proceeding to extremities, and hinted that severity often failed of its object, while kindness and patient expostulation were more likely to succeed. Now, however, he could take higher ground, and could resort to severer discipline.

The names of three ecclesiastics have been more especially preserved to us, who for erroneous teaching rather than scandalous lives were made to feel the authority of the Papal legate. One of these[1], Adelbert, was of Frankish descent; his errors formed the subject of much correspondence between the archbishop and Pope Zacharias. To define exactly in what they consisted at this distance of time is not easy[2]. According to the allegations of Boni-

Adelbert.

[1] Boniface, *Epp.* LVII. Neander, v. 78. Kurtz, 506.

[2] "Domos multorum penetravit," writes the archbishop,..."multitudinem rusticorum seduxit, dicentium quod ipse esset vir apostolicæ sanctitatis et signa atque prodigia faceret:" and he continues, "designatur in alicujus honore apostolorum vel martyrum ecclesias consecrare, improperans hominibus etiam cur tantopere studerent sanctorum apostolorum limina visitare. Postea, quod absurdum est, in proprii nominis honore dedicavit oratoria; vel, ut verius dicam, sordidavit. Fecit quoque cruciculas et oratoriola in campis, et ad fontes, vel ubicunque sibi visum

face, he had put himself at the head of some fanatical partizans who regarded him as a man of Apostolic holiness and a worker of miracles. Puffed up with pride, he compared himself with the Apostles of Christ, erected oratories in honour of his own name, and placed crosses and little chapels by the side of wells and in open fields, where the merits of "holy Adelbert" were invoked, to the great scandal of true Saints. Moreover, he had suffered parings of his nails, and locks of his hair, to be carried about as of equal honour with the relics of St Peter; and when the people flung themselves at his feet to confess their sins, he replied, "I know all your sins, for all secrets are revealed to me; ye need not confess them, they are forgiven, return to your homes in peace." The other ecclesiastic was Clemens, an Irishman by birth[1], who incurred the archbishop's suspicions on account of his loose opinions respecting the unity of the Catholic Church, his very partial reverence for the decisions of the Fathers, his refusal to acknowledge the vows of celibacy, and his novel opinions as to the doctrine of predestination and the Saviour's descent into Hades[2]. Whatever may be the merits of the controversy, Clemens and Adelbert felt the weight of Synodal censure, though it does not appear to have diminished their popularity. The third troubler of the peace of Boniface was the famous Feargil, or Virgilius[3], "the Geometer," who with one Sidonius was labouring in Bavaria. He offended the archbishop by refusing to rebaptize certain persons, as the latter

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Clemens.

Feargil or Virgilius.

fuit, et jussit ibi publicas orationes celebrari donec multitudines populorum, spretis cæteris episcopis, et dimissis antiquis ecclesiis, in talibus locis conventus celebrarent dicentes: Merita sancti Adelberti adjuvabunt nos." *Ep.* LVII.

[1] "Genere Scotus est." Ibid.

[2] "Dicens quod Christus Filius Dei, descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit inde liberavit, credulos et incredulos, laudatores Dei simul et cultores idolorum." *Ep.* LVII.

[3] Vit. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben.* III. 280. Lanigan's *Church History of Ireland*, III. 179. He had been abbot of Aghabo in Ireland: he arrived in France in 746, and won the peculiar esteem of Pepin. Other Irish missionaries in Germany at this time were *Dobda*, placed as a bishop at Chiem in Upper Bavaria by duke Odilo (Lanigan, III. 188); *Alto*, wl.o

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directed, because the officiating priest, who was utterly ignorant of Latin, had used instead of the proper formula the words, "Baptizo te in nomine *Patria, Filia, et Spiritu Sancta.*" But Zacharias, on the appeal of Virgilius, pronounced the baptism perfectly valid, inasmuch as the mistake arose not from heretical pravity but from mere ignorance of grammar. Three years afterwards when Virgilius was nominated to the see of Salzburg, Boniface again wrote to the Pope to complain that the bishop-designate perversely taught "that there was another world, and other men below the earth, with a sun and moon of its own." Whether the archbishop's opposition arose from horror at the idea of the antipodes, or because he understood Virgilius to teach the existence of a distinct race of mankind, not descended from Adam, is uncertain. Zacharias summoned the bishop-designate to Rome, where he not only cleared himself of any heretical imputation, but as bishop of Salzburg lived to carry the Gospel with much success into the wilds of Carinthia.

Letter of Boniface to Zacharias.

But we must not misunderstand the simple-minded Boniface. He could rebuke not only obscure ecclesiastics, but, when occasion demanded, even the Vicar of Christ himself. In a letter[1], couched in no truckling terms, he rebukes Pope Zacharias for allowing the honour of the pall to be purchased with money, and for suffering numerous scandals to good and pious pilgrims to exist in the city of Rome. His rude German disciples told him strange tales of the superstitious practices which were enacted, even under the shadow of St Peter, on the first of January; how the women hung amulets round their arms, and bought and sold them openly in the shops. Of what avail was it for

arrived in Bavaria about 743, and founded the monastery consecrated by Boniface, of *Altmunster* (*Act. SS. Ben.* ad. ann. 743); *Declan*, a missionary in Bavaria, who died at Friesengen, *Sidonius* (Latinized from *Sedna*), a companion of Virgilius. Lanigan, III. 181.

[1] *Ep.* XLIX.

Boniface to preach against heathen superstitions in Germany if they were permitted at Rome? In his reply the Pontiff promised an examination of these causes of complaint, and the suppression of the abuses. CHAP. IX. A.D. 745.

To return, however, to his own sphere of labour, the death of the bishop of Cologne in the year 744, suggested to Boniface the idea of elevating that place to be his Metropolitan See, especially as it might be made the basis of more extended missions in Friesland, where, since the death of Willibrord in 739, the work had somewhat retrograded. While corresponding on the subject with the Holy See, an event occurred which gave an entirely different turn to the negotiations, and illustrates one of the flagrant abuses of the clerical office, against which he had been endeavouring to legislate. In the year 744 Gerold, bishop of Mentz, was slain in a warlike expedition against the Saxons[1]. To console his son Gewillieb for the loss of his father he was consecrated as his successor, though until now he had been only a layman in Carloman's court, and had displayed more than ordinary fondness for the chase. In the following year Carloman headed another expedition against the Saxons, and Gewillieb followed in his train. The armies encamped on either side of the river Wiseraha, and, unmindful of his sacred office, Gewillieb sent a page to inquire the name of the chief who had slain his father. On discovering it, he sent the same messenger a second time to request the chief to meet him in friendly conference in the midst of the stream. The latter complied, and the two rode into the water, and, during the conference, the bishop stabbed the Saxon to the heart. *Gerold and Gewillieb.*

This act of treachery was the signal for a general engagement, in which Carloman gained a decisive victory over the Saxons. Gewillieb returned to his diocese as

[1] Othloni *Vita Bonif.* cap. xxxvii.

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though nothing had occurred. But Boniface could not allow so flagrant an infraction of the Canons enacted in the recent Synod to pass unrebuked. In the Council, therefore, of the following year, he made a formal charge against the blood-stained bishop, and demanded his deposition[1]. Gewillieb found himself unable to struggle against the authority of the archbishop; the see of Mentz was declared vacant, and became the seat of Boniface as Metropolitan, whence he exercised jurisdiction over the dioceses of Mentz, Worms, Spires, Tongres, Cologne, Utrecht, as well as the nations he had won over to the Christian faith[2].

Correspondence with Zacharias about his successor.

In the letter wherein Boniface communicated to the Pope this alteration in his plans, he made a request more nearly related to himself. He was now verging on threescore years and ten, and his long and incessant labours had begun to tell upon his constitution. Weighed down with "the care of all the churches" of Germany, he longed for repose, or at least for some diminution of the burden which pressed upon him. He had already requested that he might be allowed to nominate and ordain his successor in the archiepiscopal office. This the Pope had assured him could not be, but he conceded to his age and infirmities the unusual permission to select a priest as his special assistant, who might share a portion of his episcopal duties, and, if he proved himself worthy of confidence, might be nominated as his successor. Increasing infirmities now induced him to reiterate his request. The Pope in reply urged[3] him not to leave his see at Mentz, and reminded him of the words of the Saviour, "He that persevereth unto the end, the same shall be saved;" but in consideration of his long and laborious life, he agreed that if

[1] "Ad hæc objiciens propriis oculis se perspexisse illum cum avibus canibusque jocantem, quod episcopo nullatenus liceret." Othloni *Vita*, c. xxxvii.

[2] *Ep.* XIV. Zachariæ. Migne, p. 954. A.D. 751. Jaffè.

[3] *Ep.* XI. Migne. A.D. 748. Jaffè.

the archbishop could find amongst his clergy one in whom he could place implicit confidence as fit to be intrusted with the office, he might elevate him thereto, and receive his assistance as his colleague and representative. Successful in obtaining this welcome concession, Boniface nominated his fellow-countryman and disciple Lull as archbishop of Mentz. For himself, he proposed to retire to a monastery which was now rising in the midst of the vast forest of Buchow[1], on the banks of the river Fulda. Of the origin of this celebrated monastery we shall speak in the following chapter. Suffice it to say here, that it was one of the most important of the many similar institutions which had risen under the archbishop's eye. It occupied a central position in reference to missionary operations. Round it the four nations to whom he had preached the word for so many years seemed to be grouped together[2], and here the aged prelate could employ the autumn of his life in directing the labours of the brethren, and watching the beneficial and civilizing results of their exertions amidst the surrounding country. But while thus forming his plans for promoting the good work in the land of his adoption, he was not forgetful of old friends in England. Pleasant memories of Crediton and Nutescelle still lay near his heart, and though his arduous duties forbade a visit to these familiar scenes, he yet maintained a constant correspondence with friends in the old country, and rejoiced to receive tidings of the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon Churches, just as he was pained to the heart when he heard of any moral declension. On such occasions he deemed it his duty to write to the offenders, and exhort them to amend their lives. Thus hearing that Ethelbald

A.D. 748.

A.D. 751.

Boniface desires to retire to Fulda.

[1] Founded in 744, under the eye of Boniface.

[2] "Quatuor enim populi, quibus verbum Christi per gratiam Dei diximus, in circuitu hujus loci habitare dignoscuntur. Quibus cum vestra intercessione, quamdiu vivo vel sapio, utilis esse possum." *Ep. Bon.* LXXV.

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king of Mercia lived in the practice of gross immorality, he wrote to him in stirring and earnest terms[1], and remonstrated with him on the bad example he was setting his subjects, and endeavoured to shame him into a more consistent life by contrasting his conduct with that of the still pagan Saxons around him in the Teutonic forests, who, though "they had not the law" of Christianity, yet "did by nature the things contained in the law," and testified by severe punishments their abhorrence of unchastity. He also wrote to Archbishop Cuthbert[2], informed him of the canons and regulations he had inaugurated in the recent Synods, and urged him to use all possible means to promote the vitality of the Church of their native land.

Anxiety for his Churches.

Thus amidst increasing infirmities and many causes for anxiety he yet found time to remember old scenes and old friends. But as years rolled on, the conviction was deepened in his own mind that the day could not be far off when he must leave the Churches he had founded. Lull had, indeed, been ordained, conformably to the Pope's permission, as his coadjutor in the see of Mentz, but his appointment had not as yet received the royal recognition, and till this was secured, Boniface could not feel free from anxiety for the welfare of his flock. One of his last letters,

A.D. 752.

therefore, was addressed to Fuldrede, chamberlain of the Frankish court, soliciting his protection and that of his royal master in behalf of his clergy and his many ecclesiastical foundations. In this very year he had been called upon to restore upwards of thirty churches in his extensive diocese, which had been swept away in an invasion of the heathen Frisians, and it was with gloomy forebodings that he contemplated the fate of the German Church, if it was not shielded by royal protection. "Nearly all my companions," he writes to Fuldrede, "are strangers in this land; some are priests, distributed in various places to

[1] *Ep.* LXII. A.D. 745. [2] *Ep.* LXIII. A.D. 745.

celebrate the offices of the Church and minister to the people; some are monks, living in their different monasteries, employed in teaching the young; some are aged men, who have long borne with me the burden and heat of the day. For these I am full of anxiety, lest after my death they should be scattered as sheep having no shepherd. Let them have a share of your countenance and protection, that they may not be dispersed abroad, and that the people dwelling on the heathen borders may not lose the law of Christ. Suffer also my son and brother in the ministry, the Archbishop Lull, to preside over the Churches, that both priests and people may find in him a teacher and a guide. And may God grant that he may be a true pastor to his people, a true director to the monastic brethren. I have many reasons for making this request. My clergy on the heathen borders are in deep poverty. Bread they can obtain for themselves, but clothing they cannot find here, unless they receive aid from some other quarter, to enable them to persevere and endure their daily hardships. Let me know either by the bearers of this letter, or under thine own hand, whether thou canst promise the granting of my request, that, whether I live or die, I may have some assurance for the future[1]." The royal permission recognising Lull as his successor arrived, and now he could look forward to his end in peace. If ever he had wished to close his life in the peaceful seclusion of his new monastery at Fulda, that was not his desire now. Though upwards of seventy-four years of age, he determined to make one last effort to win over the still pagan portion of Friesland, and to accomplish what Willibrord and Wilfrid had begun. Bidding, therefore, the new archbishop a solemn farewell, he ordered preparations to be made for the journey. Something told him he should never return, and, therefore, he desired that with his books,

A.D. 752. *Letter to Fuldrede.*

A.D. 754. *Last effort in Friesland.*

[1] *Ep.* LXXII. Migne, p. 779.

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amongst which was a treatise of Ambrose on *The Advantage of Death*, might be packed not only the relics which were his constant companions, but also his shroud. Then with a small retinue of three priests, three deacons, four monks and forty-one laymen, he embarked on board a vessel, and sailed along the banks of the Rhine till he reached the shore of the Zuyder Zee. In Friesland he was joined by Eoban, an old pupil, whom he had advanced to the see of Utrecht. Together they penetrated into East-Friesland, and commenced their labours. For a time all went well. The missionaries were welcomed by some of the tribes, and were enabled to lay the foundations of several churches[1]. Gladdened by the accession of many converts, they at length reached the banks of the river Bordau, not far from the modern Dockingen. It was the month of June, and the festival of Whitsunday drew near. Boniface had dismissed many who had been admitted to baptism, bidding them return on the vigil of Whitsunday to receive the further rite of confirmation. On the morning of the appointed day, the fifth of June, the archbishop could hear the noise of the advancing multitude. But when he looked out from his tent, the brandishing of spears and the clang of arms told only too plainly that they were coming for a very different purpose than that for which he had summoned them. The heathen tribes, enraged at the success of the daring missionary, had selected this day for a complete revenge. Some of the archbishop's retinue counselled resistance, and were already preparing to defend themselves, when he stepped forth from his tent and gave orders that no weapon should be uplifted, but that all should await the crown of martyrdom. "Let us not return evil for evil," said he: "the long-expected day has come, and the time of our departure is at hand. Strengthen ye yourselves in the Lord, and He will redeem your souls.

Arrival in Friesland.

Martyrdom of Boniface.

[1] *Vita S. Bonifacii*, Pertz, II. 349. Migne, *Patrologia*, sæc. VIII. 662.

Be not afraid of those who can only kill the body, but put your trust in God, who will speedily give you His eternal reward, and an entrance into His heavenly kingdom." Calmed by his words, his followers bravely awaited the onset of their enemies. They were not long kept in suspense. Naturally embittered against the opponents of their ancestral faith, the heathens rushed upon them, and quickly dispatched the little company, whom their leader had forbidden to lift a weapon in self-defence. Boniface, according to a tradition[1] preserved by a priest of Utrecht, when he saw that his hour was come, took a volume of the Gospels, and making it a pillow for his head, stretched forth his neck for the fatal blow, and in a few moments received his release. The heathens speedily ransacked the tents of the missionaries, but instead of the treasures they expected, found only the book-cases which Boniface had brought with him; these they rifled, scattering some of the volumes over the plain, and hiding others amongst the marshes, where they remained till they were recovered by the Christians, and removed to the monastery of Fulda, together with the remains of the great missionary.

Characteristics of his work.

Thus at the ripe age of seventy-five[2] died the father of German Christian civilization. A Teuton by language and kindred, he had been the Apostle of Teutons, and his work had not been in vain. The Church, in which he had been trained, was not like those of Ireland, Gaul, or Spain, the sister and equal of that of Rome[3]. It looked back to the day when forty monks, with Augustine at their head, landed on the shores of Kent, and no Church regarded with more filial affection the source of her light and life[4]. What Mecca is to the Arabian pilgrim, that to the Anglo-Saxon was the city where the fair-haired Saxon boys were first seen

[1] *Vita Bonifacii*, Pertz, II. 351 *n.*

[2] On the date of Boniface's death see Mabillon, *Act. SS. Ben.* ad ann. 755. On the removal of his remains, *Vita S. Sturmii*, Pertz, II. 372.

[3] Michelet's *History of France*, I. 73. Guizot's *Civilisation*, II. 174.

[4] See *Ep.* XI. Zachariæ. Migne, 943.

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by the large-hearted monk of St Andrew. And nowhere do we find a more signal instance of the reverential feelings with which his countrymen regarded the great Bishop of the West than in the life of the native of Crediton. Combining singular conscientiousness with earnest piety, dauntless zeal with practical energy, he had been enabled to consolidate the work of earlier Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries; he had revived the decaying energies of the Frankish Church; he had restored to her the long dormant activity of the Ecclesiastical Council; he had covered Central and Western Germany with the first necessary elements of civilisation. Monastic seminaries, as Amöneburg and Ohrdruf, Fritzlar and Fulda, had risen amidst the Teutonic forests. The sees of Salzburg and Freisingen, of Regensburg and Passau testified to his care of the Church of Bavaria; the see of Erfurt told of labours in Thuringia, that of Buraburg, in Hesse, that of Wurzburg, in Franconia, while his metropolitan see at Mentz, having jurisdiction over Worms and Spires, Tongres, Cologne, and Utrecht, was a sign that even before his death the German Church had already advanced beyond its first missionary stage. Well may Germany look back with gratitude to the holy Benedictine, and tell with joy the story of the monk of Nutescelle. The roll of missionary heroes, since the days of the Apostles, can point to few more glorious names, to none, perhaps, that has added to the dominion of the Gospel, regions of greater extent or value, or that has exerted a more powerful influence on the history of the human race. In the monastery of Fulda was exposed for ages, to hosts of pilgrims, the blood-stained copy of St Ambrose on the *Advantage of Death*, which the archbishop had brought with his shroud, to the shore of the Zuyder Zee, and the long-continued labours of many of his loving pupils and associates will prove that in his case, as always, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."

CHAPTER X.

EFFORTS OF THE DISCIPLES OF ST BONIFACE.

A.D. 719—789.

"Itaque Willehadus et Liudgerus contemplativæ vitæ operam dabant, adprime orantes pro gente Saxonum, ne jactum in eis semen verbi Dei inimicus homo zizaniis oppleret, impletumque in eis esset, quod Scriptura dicit, *Multum valet deprecatio justi assidua.*"—ADAMUS BREMENSIS.

A.D. 719. *Disciples of Boniface.*

DURING one of his earlier missionary journeys in Thuringia and Hessia[1], Boniface arrived on one occasion, in the year A.D. 719, at a nunnery near the city of Triers, on the banks of the Moselle, presided over by the Abbess Addula. After service, the abbess and her guest repaired to the common hall, and, as was usually the case, a portion of Scripture was read during meal-time. The reader was Gregory, nephew of the abbess, a lad of fifteen who had lately returned from school. Boniface was pleased with the way in which the boy read his Latin Vulgate, and proceeded to inquire whether he understood the passage he had read. The boy, misunderstanding his question, read it a second time. "No, my son," replied the missionary, "that is not what I meant. I know you can read well enough, but can you render the passage into your own mother-tongue?" The boy confessed his inability, and thereupon Boniface himself translated it into

1. *Gregory of Utrecht.*

[1] See *Acta SS. Bolland.* Aug. 25.

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Discourse of of Boniface.

German, and then made the passage the ground of a few words of exhortatiou to the whole company.

We know neither what the passage was, nor what the missionary said, but we do know what was uppermost in his mind, and can easily imagine that he did not lose the opportunity of exhorting the inmates of the safe and secluded cloister, to prize the blessing they enjoyed in the knowledge of a Saviour's love, and told them of the many thousands in the forests of Northern and Western Germany, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, who knew not the truth, and to whom it was his privilege to proclaim the word of life. We know, also, what was the effect of his earnest words. So deep was the impression made on the mind of the listening youth, that he was seized with an unconquerable desire to accompany the preacher in his arduous journeys. In vain the abbess tried to dissuade him from entrusting himself to an entire stranger. Nothing daunted, the boy persisted in his request, till at length the abbess was fain to consent.

Gregory attaches himself to Boniface.

Supplying him, therefore, with horses and attendants, she suffered him to depart and accompany his new-found friend. That friend he never forsook. He shared with him all his trials and dangers, and, in spite of poverty[1] and privations of the most discouraging character, he continued his constant companion wherever he went. He was with him when he went to Rome to obtain the approbation of the Pope as a missionary in Thuringia, and brought back from the Holy City many copies of the Scriptures[2], in which, as his master's chief assistant, he taught the

[1] "In fame, et nuditate, et laboribus multis. In tanta paupertate invenerunt populum illum, ut vix ibi ullus haberet unde viveret, nisi de longinquo parum quid colligeret, ut ad modicum tempus sustentaret penuriam suam." *Acta SS.* Aug. 25.

[2] "Plura volumina sanctarum Scripturarum, largiente Domino, illic acquisivit, et secum inde ad profectum proprium, discipulorumque suorum, non modico labore advexit domum. Et pueros duos, cum consensu magistri, in discipulatum suum, Marchelmum videlicet, et Marciunum germanos de gente Anglorum, secum inde adduxit." *Acta SS.*

numerous candidates for the ministry whom Boniface had in training in his different monasteries. He was with him also during his last journey to Friesland, and on the death of Bishop Eoban, determined to take upon himself the direction of the mission in that country. As abbot of a monastery at Utrecht (for he did not aspire to the vacant bishopric), he received much encouragement in his noble designs from pope Stephen III. and king Pepin. Under his superintendence the monastery at Utrecht became a missionary college, where assembled youths from England, France, Friesland, Saxony, Suabia, and Bavaria[1], whom the abbot sought to send forth, after a suitable training, to emulate the zeal of his deceased master in the wilds of Frisia. In preparing them for their high duties, he was instant in season and out of season. He grudged no toil, he spared no pains. Early in the morning he might be found sitting in his cell waiting for such of his pupils as sought counsel or encouragement. One by one they would come to him, and received suitable advice according to their individual wants and peculiarities. While thus he himself superintended his missionary school, the want of a bishop was supplied by a friend and fellow-labourer, Alubert, who had come over from England, and whom he persuaded to return thither to receive episcopal consecration. Alubert crossed over to his native land, accompanied by Sigibodus and Liudger, two other pupils of Gregory; and during the year they spent in England they enjoyed the society and instruction of the celebrated Alcuin, who was superintending his school at York[2]. Thence they

Missionary College at Utrecht.

[1] "Quidam eorum erant de nobili stirpe Francorum, quidam et de religiosa gente Anglorum; quidam et de novella Dei plantatione diebus nostris inchoata, Fresonum et Saxonum; quidam autem et de Bavariis et Suevis, vel de quacunque natione et gente misisset eos Deus." *Vita S. Gregorii. Acta SS. Aug.* 25. *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 407.

[2] *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 407. One of the assistants of Gregory in the missionary work in the neighbourhood of Utrecht was "quidam presbiter sanctus de genere Anglorum nomine Liafwinus;" he had

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returned, and the new bishop continued to assist Gregory in preparing suitable missionaries amongst the Frisians, and ordained them when prepared to that high office.

Gregory's kindness to two robbers.

A pleasing instance of the way in which the abbot was enabled to adorn the doctrine of a Merciful and Crucified Redeemer amongst the heathen population is recorded by his biographer. Two of Gregory's brothers were journeying into Gaul when they were waylaid by robbers and murdered. A pursuit of the murderers was set on foot, and on their capture they were dragged into the presence of Gregory, and it was thought likely to soothe the pang of sorrow at the loss of those so dear to him, if he should be allowed to select the kind of death the murderers should die. But the abbot persuaded the captors to suffer the banditti to be released, and having caused them to be furnished with clothes and food, dismissed them with a suitable admonition. In labours of love like these, teaching and preaching, he persevered till he had reached his seventieth year. He was then seized with a paralysis of the left side, which continued for three years. During this time he still strove to exhort and advise his scholars, dividing amongst them presents of books, one of which, the *Enchiridion* of St Augustine, his biographer Liudger affectionately records as having been bestowed upon himself, and bidding all, amidst the toils and privations of their daily life, to think of those encouraging words of the Apostle, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him." At last his sufferings became so severe he could bear up no longer. Having saluted his successor, Albric, he ordered that he should be carried to the church, and placed at the door,

come to Gregory announcing "sibi a Domino terribiliter trina admonitione fuisse præceptum, ut in confinio Francorum atque Saxonum plebi in doctrina prodesse deberet."

in front and full view of the altar. There he prayed, and having received the holy Supper, died in the midst of his disciples, who had gathered round his bed, uttering as his last words, "To-day I have my release." CHAP. X. A.D. 781.

Another eminent disciple of the great Apostle of Germany was the Abbot Sturmi. He had been committed to the care of that eminent missionary by his parents, who were of noble descent, and natives of Bavaria, at the period that he was engaged in organizing the Church in that country. Boniface accepted the boy with joy, and on his arrival at Fritzlar, placed him in a monastery there, under the care of the abbot, Wigbert[1]. The latter undertook his education with alacrity, "taught him to repeat by heart the Psalms, then opened up to him the four Gospels, and bade him commit to memory large portions of the rest of the New, and also of the Old Testament[2]." The period of instruction completed, Sturmi was consecrated priest, and for three years continued to assist Boniface in missionary work. Then with that intense desire to penetrate the profoundest solitudes which we have already so often noticed as peculiar to the missionaries of the Middle Ages, he longed to discover a more lonely retreat, and to found a monastery in the awful forest of Buchonia (Burchwald), which then covered a great portion of Hessia. Such a desire was no sooner communicated to Boniface than it met with his most cordial approval, and he saw that an opening was now possible towards converting that impassable forest into a cultivated country, and establishing another of his numerous monastic colonies in its midst. Two companions *Sturmi of Fulda.* A.D. 736—8.

[1] Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben.* III. 625.

[2] The following course of instruction as preparatory to missionary work at this period is interesting: "Psalmis tenaci memoriæ traditis, lectionibusque quam plurimis perenni commemoratione firmatis, sacram cœpit Christi puer scripturam spirituali intelligere sensu, quatuor evangeliorum Christi mysteria studiosissime curavit addiscere, Novum quoque ac Vetus Testamentum, in quantum sufficiebat, lectionis assiduitate in cordis sui thesaurum recondere curavit." *Vita S. Sturmi Abbatis*, Pertz, II. 366.

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A.D. 744.

were assigned to Sturmi, and before the three set out, Boniface solemnly commended them to the Lord[1], bidding them "go forth in His name, and seek a suitable habitation for His servants in the wilderness."

The foundation of the Monastery of Fulda.

After wandering on for three days they at length reached a spot, now called Hersfelt, which seemed adapted to their purpose. A portion of ground was cleared, a few small huts were constructed of the bark of trees, and their new abode was consecrated with fasting and prayer. Sturmi, after a short stay, determined to return, and recount to the archbishop all that had befallen them. He told him exactly every particular respecting the situation, soil, watershed, and salubrity of their new abode[2]. The prudent Boniface would not immediately discourage his zealous disciple by telling him the spot was not suitable. He bade him stay with him and refresh himself awhile, and cheered his spirits by reminding him of the consolatory promises of Scripture, and the great cause they both had so much at heart. At length he told him plainly the situation was not advantageous; it was too near the pagan Saxons, and might suffer from their wild incursions; he bade him, therefore, persevere and renew the search for a locality more remote and more secure.

Again, therefore, Sturmi set forth, rejoined his associates at Hersfelt, informed them of the decision of Boniface, and persuaded them to renew the search. A second journey amidst the trackless forest was scarcely more successful. In a boat the little band sailed up the

[1] We have a specimen of the tenor of the prayer offered on such an occasion in *Vita S. Sequani*, quoted in Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, II. 323: "Lord, who hast made heaven and earth, who hearest the prayers of him that comes to Thee, from whom every good thing proceeds, and without whom all the efforts of human weakness are vain, if Thou ordainest me to establish myself in this solitude, make it known to me, and lead to a good issue the beginning which Thou hast already granted to my devotion."

[2] "Eique et loci positionem et terræ qualitatem, et aquæ decursum, et fontes et valles, et omnia quæ ad locum pertinebant, per ordinem exposuit." Pertz, II. 367.

river Fulda, and observed several spots which seemed adapted to their purpose, but none presented the precise qualifications which Boniface required. Returning to Hersfelt they found a messenger from the archbishop, summoning Sturmi to meet him at Fritzlar. The faithful monk straightway obeyed, and recounted to him the bootless result of the second expedition. But Boniface still encouraged him to make another attempt. "A place," said he, with the air of a prophet, "is prepared for us in the forest: whensoever it be the will of Christ, He will shew it to His servants; therefore desist not from thy inquiries, be assured that without doubt thou wilt discover it there[1]."

Discovery of the site.

After a short interval of refreshment and repose, Sturmi, not doubting but what the bishop said would come to pass, saddled his ass, and again, undeterred by previous failures, determined to prosecute the search. This time he went alone. Against the wild beasts he protected himself in the day-time by chanting hymns and prayers, and in the night-time he cut down with a sword branches from the trees, signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and commended himself to the divine protection. Thus secure he made his way under the huge oak-groves, where the foot of man had never trod, till on the fourth day, guided by a forester, he reached a spot on the banks of the Fulda which seemed to combine all the advantages of situation, salubrity, and seclusion which Boniface required[2]. Carefully he examined and re-examined the situation: every hill, every valley, every spring was duly noted, and then he returned, and after

[1] *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, II. 368.

[2] "Avidus locorum explorator ubique sagaci obtutu montuosa atque plana perlustrans loca, montes quoque et colles vallesque aspiciens, fontes et torrentes atque fluvios considerans, pergebat." On discovering the spot, "quanto longius et latius gradiebatur, tanto amplius gratulabatur. Cumque ibi loci pulchritudine delectatus, non modicum dici spatium gyrando et explorando exegisset, benedicto loco et diligenter signato, gaudens inde profectus est." *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, II. 369.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 744.

communicating the joyful news to the brethren who were praying for his success at Hersfelt, he passed on and sought out the archbishop, to whom he recounted the circumstances of his third expedition, and his own belief that the long desired locality had at last been found. Boniface, overjoyed, listened eagerly to every detail, and at last announced that he was satisfied. Shortly afterwards he repaired to the court of Carloman, and prevailed upon him to grant him the spot with a demesne extending four miles each way[1]. Sturmi, with the grant thus ratified, was directed to take with him seven brethren, and commence the foundations of the monastery. Thither also Boniface himself repaired with several of the brethren, and watched the felling of the trees, and the clearing of the ground, with the same feeling of interest and delight which many of our Colonial Bishops have described at seeing the walls of some church rising in the backwoods of Canada or the valleys of New Zealand. Thus was founded the monastery of Fulda. No other of his many conventual houses did Boniface regard with such deep affection. Not only did he obtain the site from Carloman, but he exempted it from the spiritual supervision of the bishops, and subjected it solely to the Pope. Appointing Sturmi its first abbot, he dispatched him into Italy to inspect all the monastic houses, especially that of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, that they might be reproduced at Fulda. By the wish, however, of the founder, the rule of Fulda was made more rigid even than that of St Benedict[2]. It was directed that the brethren should never eat flesh, that their strongest drink should be a thin beer, that they should have no serfs, but

St Boniface begs the site of Carloman.

A.D. 744.

The Rule of Fulda.

[1] Pertz, II. 370.

[2] "Consensu omnium decretum est, ut apud illos nulla potio fortis quæ inebriare possit, sed tenuis cerevisia biberetur." *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, II. 371. "Viros strictæ abstinentiæ, absque carne et vino, absque sicera et servis, proprio manuum suarum labore contentos." *Ep. Bon.* LXXV. For the accurate description of the site of Fulda, see *Bonifacii Ep.* I. XVI.

should subsist entirely by the labour of their own hands. So popular did the new monastery become, especially after the remains of the great Apostle of Germany had been transferred thither, that numbers even more than it could contain sought to be received within its walls. Sturmi is said to have directed the labours of upwards of four thousand monks, who gladly submitted to his paternal rule, and employed themselves in clearing the land, and reducing the wilderness to cultivation, or preparing themselves for missionary labour amongst their Teutonic brethren. The life of the good abbot was not without its troubles. The exemption Boniface had procured for his favourite institution from episcopal supervision provoked the jealousy of his successor archbishop Lull, and brought about the banishment of Sturmi from the monastery, and his temporary disgrace at the court of Pepin. But the clouds cleared away; Sturmi was restored, and he lived to a good old age, superintending the labours of his numerous brethren, erecting churches, and adorning and beautifying his favourite retreat.

Accession of Charlemagne.

With the accession of Charlemagne he was constrained to take part in other methods of winning over the heathen Saxons[1] to the Christian faith than those which his own conscience approved, or the spirit of his creed sanctioned. In the year 772, memorable for the destruction of the Irmin-Saule, commenced the first of the many wars of Charlemagne against the Saxon race[2]. Conscious that on their subjugation depended not only his own security[3], but that of Europe

A.D. 772.

Wars with the Saxons.

[1] In the year A.D. 772, Charlemagne took Eresburg, a strong fortress on the Drimel, and thence advanced to "a kind of religious capital, either of the whole Saxon nation, or at least of the more considerable tribes," near the source of the Lippe, where was the celebrated idol, the Irmin-Saule, which Charlemagne destroyed. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 283.

[2] "The Saxon race now occupied the whole North of Germany, from the Baltic along the whole Eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom, and were divided into three leading tribes, the Ostphalians, the Westphalians, and the Angarians." Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 281.

[3] 1. The ancient antipathy of the race, 2. the growing tendency to civilized habits among the Franks,

CHAP. X.

A.D. 772.

also, that monarch determined at all risks to break their spirit, to roll back the tide of barbarian aggression, to penetrate their bleak and unknown world, to seek them out amidst their endless forests, and wide heaths, and trackless swamps, and to erect there the Christian Church and the monastic seminary. Strange methods were now resorted to for the purpose of winning over the ferocious

A.D. 776.

Saxon to the new faith. On one occasion the abbot of Fulda was summoned to join the emperor, who, anxious to conquer the wild race, and to force them to accept the yoke of civilization, after consulting his clergy, had assembled a great army, and invoking the name of Christ, set out for Saxony[1], "attended," says the biographer of Sturmi, "by a numerous retinue of priests, abbots, and orthodox adherents of the true faith, in order to induce a nation, which from the beginning of the world had been tied and bound with the chains of dæmons, to believe the sacred doctrines and submit to the light and easy yoke of Christ. And on his arrival in their country, partly by war, partly by persuasion, partly by gifts, he won over the race to the faith, and dividing their land into dioceses, handed over the population to the spiritual instructions of his clergy."

Sturmi now found full employment for all his energies. The greater portion of the conquered race, who had felt the edge of Charlemagne's sword, and witnessed the de-

were, according to Michelet, the chief causes of these wars. Hallam considers the last cause quite sufficient to account for the conflict. "It was that which makes the Red Indian perceive an enemy in the Anglo-American, and the Australian savage in the Englishman. The Saxons, in their deep forests and scantily-cultivated plains, could not bear fixed boundaries of land. Their *gau* was indefinite; the *mansus* was certain; it annihilated the barbarian's only method of combining liberty with possession of land." No wonder also they hated the ecclesiastical system of the conqueror, for "with the Church came churches, and for churches there must be towns, and for towns a magistracy, and for magistracy law and the means of enforcing it." Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Suppl. notes, p. 25. Michelet, I. 78.

[1] *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, II. 376.

struction of the great object of their adoration, the Irmin-Saule, were committed to his care. Aided by the numerous brethren of Fulda he girded himself for the difficult task, proclaimed the futility of their idolatrous worship, exhorted them to destroy their temples, to cut down their groves, and to embrace the faith. His exertions were rewarded with partial success. Many of the vanquished Saxons, making a virtue of necessity, accepted the ritual of their conquerors, and were, with but little discrimination, immersed in, or sprinkled with the regenerating waters. But a rebellion broke out in 778. The Saxons burst in numbers into the territory of Fulda, determined to burn the monastery with fire, and destroy the enemies of their national faith[1]. The abbot was informed of their design, and determined to seek safety in flight. The coffin of the Apostle of Germany was hastily exhumed, and the brethren set forth from their retreat. They had not proceeded far when they heard that the tide had turned, and the Saxons been driven back. Charlemagne had flown to the rescue, and advanced his forces as far as the Weser. But Sturmi, who had been far from well when obliged to fly, sickened rapidly after his return to the monastery. In vain the emperor sent him his own physician Wintar. A mistake was made in his prescriptions, and the sufferings of his patient were only increased. Perceiving that his end was nigh, the abbot bade all the bells to be rung, and the brethren to assemble round his bed[2]. They came, and he begged them all to forgive him if any had aught against him, and declared that he for his part forgave all, even his old enemy archbishop Lull. The next day he sunk rapidly, and as the brethren stood round his bed, "Father," said one, "we doubt not thou art about to depart hence and to be with the Lord, we be-

CHAP. X.

A.D. 776.

A.D. 778. *Attack on Fulda.*

A.D. 779.

Sturmi's death.

[1] *Vita S. Sturmi*, Pertz, II. 376.

[2] "Currere citius ad ecclesiam jubet, omnes gloggas (campanas) pariter moveri imperavit, et fratribus congregatis obitum suum nuntiare præcepit." Pertz, II. 377.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 779.

seech thee, therefore, that in the kingdom of heaven thou wilt remember us, and pray unto the Lord in behalf of thy servants, for sure we are that the prayers of such an advocate will avail us much." "Shew yourselves worthy," was the answer of the dying abbot, "that I should pray for you, and I will do as ye require." With these words he expired on the 17th of December, 779.

Effect of the Saxon wars on the Missionary spirit.

While the abbot was thus peacefully breathing forth his life in the monastery of Fulda, the storm of war was raging without through the length and breadth of the Saxon territory. In 779 the great Carl chased his indefatigable enemies to the Weser, in the following year he advanced as far as the Elbe. In the midst of the constant din of arms, the marching and countermarching of troops, the burning of monasteries and churches, it is not surprising that even missionaries were tempted to forget that "the weapons of their warfare" were "not carnal," and at times appealed to other feelings than those of faith and love. One of these, Lebuin[1], a man of intrepid zeal, had come over from England, and built him an oratory on the banks of the Ysell. Here, encouraged by the advice and countenance of Gregory the abbot of Utrecht, he continued to exhort the pagan Saxons to forsake their idolatry, and by the ruggedness of his life he charmed many even of the martial chiefs. But the anger of the tribes was excited, they rose in arms and burnt his oratory to the ground.

St Lebuin.

A.D. 776.

Nothing daunted, he determined to go forth and confront the whole nation at their approaching assembly[2] on the Weser. Arraying himself in his full clerical dress, with an uplifted Cross in one hand, and a volume of the Gospels

[1] See *Vita S. Lebuini*, Pertz, II. 361.

[2] "Statuto tempore anni semel ex singulis pagis, atque ex iisdem ordinibus tripartitis, singillatim viri duodecim electi, et in unum collecti, in media Saxonia secus flumen Wiseram, et locum, Marklo nuncupatum, exercebant generale concilium, tractantes, sancientes, et propalantes communis commoda utilitatis, juxta placitum a se statuta legis." *Vita S. Lebuini*, Pertz, II. 362.

in the other, he presented himself to the astonished Saxons, as they were engaged in solemn sacrifice to their national gods. "Hearken unto me," he thundered forth, "and not indeed to me, but unto Him that speaketh by me. I declare unto you the commands of Him whom all things serve and obey." Struck dumb with astonishment the warriors listened, as he went on[1], "Hearken, all ye, and know that God is the Creator of heaven and earth, the sea, and all things that there are therein. He is the one only and true God. He made us, and not we ourselves, nor is there any other than He. The images, which ye call gods, and which, beguiled by the devil, ye worship, what are they but gold, or silver, or brass, or stone, or wood? They neither live, nor move, nor feel; they are but the work of men's hands, they can neither help themselves nor any one else. God the only good and righteous Being, whose mercy and truth remain for ever, moved with pity that ye should be thus seduced by the errors of dæmons, has charged me as His ambassador to beseech you to lay aside your old errors, and to turn with sincere and true faith to Him by whose goodness ye were created, and in whom we live and move and have our being. If ye will acknowledge Him, and repent, and be baptized, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and will keep His commandments, then will He preserve you from all evil, He will vouchsafe unto you the blessings of peace, and in the world to come, life everlasting. But if ye despise and reject His counsels, and persist in your present errors, know that ye will suffer terrible punishment for scorning His merciful warning. Behold, I, His ambassador, declare unto you the sentence which has gone forth from His mouth, and which cannot change. If ye do not obey His commands, then will sudden destruction come upon you. For the King of kings and Lord of lords

CHAP. X.

A.D. 776.

His bold address to the Saxon Council.

A.D. 772—776.

[1] *Vita S. Lebuini*, Pertz, II. 361.

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A.D. 776.

hath appointed a brave, prudent, and terrible prince, who is not afar off, but nigh at hand. He, like a swift and roaring torrent, will burst upon you, and subdue the ferocity of your hearts, and crush your stiffnecked obstinacy. He shall invade your land with a mighty host, and ravage it with fire and sword, desolation, and destruction. As the avenging wrath of that God, whom ye have ever provoked, he shall slay some of you with the sword, some he shall cause to waste away in poverty and want, some he shall lead into perpetual captivity; your wives and children he shall sell into slavery, and the residue of you he will reduce to ignominious subjection, that in you may justly be fulfilled what has long since been predicted, "They were made a handful and scattered, and tormented with the tribulation and anguish of the wicked[1]."

Narrow escape of the Missionary.

The effect of these last words can easily be imagined. The warriors, who had listened at first with awe-struck reverence, were seized with ungovernable fury. "Here is that seducer," they cried with one voice, "that enemy of our sacred rites, and our country; away with him from the earth, and let him suffer the just punishment of his crimes." The whole assembly was in a ferment. Stakes were cut from the adjoining thickets, stones were taken up, and the dauntless missionary would have atoned for his temerity with his life, had it not been for the intervention of an aged chief, named Buto, who, standing on an eminence, addressed the excited throng: "Men and heroes all, listen unto my words. Many a time have ambassadors come to us from the Normans, the Slaves, and the Frisons; as is our custom, we have listened diligently to their words, received them in peace, and dismissed them to their homes loaded with suitable presents. But now an ambassador of

[1] "Ut de vobis jamdudum jure prædictum videri posit: *Et pauci facti sunt, et vexati sunt a tribulatione malorum et dolore.*" Pertz, II. 363.

God Supreme, who has announced to us words of life and eternal salvation, hath not only been despised, but struck and stoned, and almost deprived of life. That the God who sent him hither is great and powerful is plain from the fact that He has delivered His servant out of our hands. Be assured, then, that what He hath threatened will certainly come to pass, and those judgments He has denounced will come upon us from a God whom we see to be so great and powerful."

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A.D. 776.

The spirit of his sermon the spirit of the times.

With these words the old man calmed the storm, and so Lebuin escaped, nor did any seek his life. The spirit, however, which breathes through his address to the heathen warriors,—and for this reason we bring it forward at this point,—illustrates the spirit of the Emperor, the spirit of the times. The Saxons were looked upon as barbarians and heathens, with whom no treaties could be maintained. The exigencies of the age made Charlemagne a Mahometan Apostle of the Gospel[1]. While his soldiers fought against their idolatrous foes, threw down their temples, cut down their groves, the priests followed in the wake of the armies. The reception of baptism was the symbol of peace; refusal of the rite the symptom of disaffection, and the signal of war. In vain men like Alcuin protested against the monarch's plan for securing at once the subjection and the conversion of the Saxons; in vain he exhorted him to call to mind the example of the Apostles and their Divine Master in the propagation of the Gospel. "No man putteth new wine into old bottles," says he in one of his letters, quoting the words of Christ; "you might hence be led to consider whether it was well done to impose on a rude people at their first conversion the yoke of tithes. Did the Apostles, who were sent out to preach by the Lord Himself, require tithes, or anywhere prescribe that they

A.D. 780—785.

Protests of Alcuin.

[1] See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, I. 9. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 280.

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should be exacted?" Again, in another letter to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, he asks, "Of what use is baptism without faith? The Apostle says, 'without faith it is impossible to please God.' It is because they have never had the principle of faith in their hearts that the wretched people of Saxony have so often abused the sacrament of baptism. Faith, as St Augustine says, is a matter of free-will, and not of compulsion. How can a man be forced to believe what he does not believe? A man may, indeed, be forced to baptism, but not to faith."

His protests ineffectual.

His protests, however, did not receive the attention they deserved. Charlemagne persisted in his policy. Death was denounced as the penalty for neglecting baptism, or resorting to secret idolatry; the same penalty was threatened against burning churches, neglecting fasts, burning the dead according to heathen customs, or offering human sacrifices. Still side by side with this short-sighted policy, which could not fail to promote the commingling of Christian and heathen elements, other and better agencies were at work. The disciples whom Boniface had trained did not fail to walk in the steps of their master, and laboured not only to uproot idolatry, but to plant the truth which should absorb heathen error, building schools and monasteries, erecting churches, and thus laying the best and surest foundations for the future.

The abbey of Utrecht, under the presidency of the devoted Gregory, had sent forth many noble labourers into the mission-field, and many more had come over from England to take their share in the good work, and to spread the knowledge of the truth. One of the most eminent of these, and to whom allusion has already been made, was Liudger, the grandson of Wursing, a Frisian chief, and firm friend of Willibrord[1]. The seeds of early piety had been quickened within him in the school of Utrecht,

St Liudger.

[1] See above, Chapter VIII. p. 173 *n.*

and his knowledge had been still further extended in that of Alcuin at York, whither Gregory, as we have seen[1], had sent him with his coadjutor Alubert. He returned after an interval of three years and six months; well supplied with books, and well instructed, he commenced his missionary labours in the region where Boniface had met with his death, assisting Albric, the successor of Gregory, who was consecrated bishop of Cologne. His exertions, however, had not continued more than seven years, when thay were rudely cut short by a rebellion of the Saxons, who rose in 780, under their leader Wittekind, and ravaged the country from Cologne to Coblentz. Albric died, and from the sight of burning churches and exiled clergy Liudger betook himself with two companions to Rome, and thence to the abbey of Monte Cassino, to study the monastic rule of St Benedict. Returning in 785 he found that peace had been restored, and that the Saxon chief Wittekind had submitted to baptism. His arrival becoming known to the emperor, the latter assigned him a sphere of labour among the Frisians in the neighbourhood of Gröningen and Norden[2].

A.D. 785.

Wittekind.

Expedition to Heligoland.

Not content with the area marked out for him, Liudger extended his anxieties to Fositesland, famous, as we have seen, in the life Willibrord[3]. His biographer tells us that, as he sailed to the island, holding the Cross in his hand, a dark mist appeared to the sailors to roll off the shore, followed by a bright calm. Interpreting this as an omen of good success, Liudger landed, preached the Word, and destroyed the temples, erecting churches in their stead. Many listened to his message and were baptized

[1] The occasion of his return is thus related: "Egredientibus civibus illis ad b llum contra inimicos suos, (i. e. at York), contigit, ut, per rixam interficeretur filius cujusdam comitis ipsius provinciæ a Fresone quodam negotiatore, et idcirco Fres ones festinaverunt egredi de regione Anglorum, timentes iram propinquorum interfecti juvenis." *Vita S. Liudgeri*, cap. 11.

[2] *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 410.

[3] See Chapter IX. p. 172.

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A.D. 785.

in the waters of the very fountain in which Willibrord, at so much risk, had baptized three of the islanders on a former occasion. A son also of one of the chiefs embraced the faith, was baptized, and became a teacher of the Frisians, and the founder of a monastery. After the complete subjugation of the Saxons, Liudger was directed by the emperor to repair to the district of Münster. Here he erected a monastery, travelled over the district with unflagging energy, instructed the barbarous tribes, and appointed priests to take charge of them. After many refusals he was at last induced by Hildebold, archbishop of Cologne, to accept the episcopal dignity; but he did not cease to carry on as strenuously as ever his missionary work, and even longed to undertake a mission to the wild Normans; this, however, the emperor would not allow, and he was fain to remain in his own diocese, where he did not cease to labour till the day of his death, in 809. On this day, after preaching to two different congregations in the morning at Cosfeld, and celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the afternoon at Billerbeck, he bade farewell to the sheep for whom he had so long laboured, and entered into his rest[1].

Hildebold.

A.D. 809.

Another eminent missionary, and during part of his life a contemporary of Liudger, was Willehad, a native of Northumbria[2], who was induced to leave his country and join the band of missionaries, commencing, like Liudger, in the district where Boniface suffered. Removing thence to the district of Gröningen, he found himself in the midst of a population still fanatically addicted to paganism. Undeterred by the enmity he was too likely

Willehad.

A.D. 779.

[1] "Ipse vero die dominico, cum in subsequenti nocte de hoc mundo esset iturus ad Dominum, quasi valefaciens creditis sibi ovibus in duabus suis ecclesiis publice prædicavit, mane scilicet in loco qui dicitur Cosfelt, canente presbytero missam, et circa horam tertiam in loco nuncupato Billurbike." *Vita S. Liudgeri*, Pertz, II. 414.

[2] *Vita S. Willehadi*, Pertz, II. 380. Adam. Brem. I. 12.

to arouse, he persevered in delivering his message, declaimed against the futility of the national worship, and urged them to embrace the true faith. The wrath of the people burst forth, they gnashed with their teeth at the contemner of their gods, and declared him worthy of death. One of the chiefs urged caution before proceeding to such an extremity: "this faith," said he, "is new to us, and as yet we know not whether it be offered to us by some deity; the preacher is not guilty of any crime; let him not, then, be put to death, but let us cast lots, and ascertain what is the will of heaven respecting him, whether he ought to live or die." The people consented, and the lots were cast. The decision was in his favour, and he was sent away in safety, and was enabled to prosecute his labours in the region of Drenthe. All went well for some time; the people listened to the intrepid preacher; and not a few embraced the doctrines he taught them. At last some of his companions, in the spirit of Columbanus and Gallus, began to attack the objects of native worship. A riot ensued, and Willehad was set upon with clubs, and severely wounded. One of his assailants drew his sword, but the blow, which was intended to have cleft his skull, only severed the thong which fastened the box of relics that he carried. Even the pagans interpreted this as a favourable omen, and he was suffered to depart.

A.D. 779.

Appeal to the sacred lots.

Charlemagne, who had just returned from an expedition against his old enemies, the Saxons, now proposed that he should labour amongst the people in the district of Wigmodia, and raise up amongst them an outpost of Christian civilization. The intrepid man eagerly accepted the arduous task, settled down amongst the people, and, for a space of two years, saw in the adhesion, whether feigned or real, of the natives to the new faith, some reward of his labours. But the rebellion of Wittekind in 782 roused all the old animosity, the churches fell, several of the clergy were

Labours in Wigmodia.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 782.

murdered[1], and Willehad was constrained to fly for his life. An interval of rest was now afforded him, and he turned it to account by visiting Rome, and obtained an interview with the Pope. Returning through France, he took up his abode in a convent founded by Willibrord at Epternach. Here he gathered together his scattered scholars, and spent two years in the quiet study of the Scriptures, transcribing the Epistles of St Paul into a single volume[2], and edifying many by the consistency and holiness of his life and conversation. Again, however, he was called forth from his seclusion by the Emperor, and bidden to revisit his former sphere of labour[3]. The churches which had been destroyed during the Saxon rising were rebuilt, and approved clergy stationed in all places where the people appeared willing to receive the Word. The land enjoyed a still longer period of rest on the baptism of Wittekind, and Charlemagne, judging it a fit opportunity to found an episcopal diocese, caused Willehad to be consecrated the first bishop of Eastern Frisia and Saxony[4]. He had no sooner been raised to this new dignity than he commenced a general visitation of his diocese, preaching the Word where as yet it had not been heard, and confirming all that had been baptized. He also erected and consecrated with no little pomp a cathedral church at Bremen. But he had presided over his diocese little more than two years, when a fever, caught during one of his numerous visitation journeys, laid him on his deathbed near Blexem on the Weser. Round his bed gathered the many scholars he had trained and

A.D. 785.

A.D. 787. *Consecrated bishop.*

[1] "Folcardum presbyterum cum Emmiggo comite in pago denominato Lêri, Beniamin autem in Ubbriustri, Atrebanum vero clericum in Thiatmaresgaho, Gêrwalum quoque cum sociis suis in Brema, odio nominis Christiani, gladio peremerunt." *Vita S. Willehadi*, cap. 6.

[2] Long preserved as a precious relic by succeeding bishops of Bremen.

[3] Giving him, as became usual now, in consequence of the danger attending missionary enterprise among the Saxons, "pro consolatione laboris ac præsidio subsequentium ejus, in benefitium quandam cellam in Frantia, quæ appellatur Justina." Ibid. cap. 8.

[4] Adam. Brem. I. 13.

with whom he had shared so many perils. To their mournful regrets at the prospect of being so soon parted from their master and friend[1], he replied in words which expressed not only his own feelings, but those, doubtless, of many then toiling in the arduous Saxon mission-field; "O seek not any longer to detain me from the presence of my Lord; suffer me to be released from the trials of this troublesome world. I have no desire to live any longer, and I fear not to die. I will only beseech my Lord, whom I have striven to love with my whole heart, that He will deign to give me such a reward for my labour as He in His mercy may see fit. The sheep which He entrusted to me, I again commit to His care. If I have done anything that is good, it has been done through His strength. His goodness will never fail you, for the whole earth is full of His mercy[2]." With these words he expired on the 8th of November, 789, and was buried in his own cathedral at Bremen.

CHAP. X. A.D. 787. *His death.* A.D. 789.

Three years after his death the long struggle between Charlemagne and the Saxons, between civilization and heathenism, came to a close. For thirty-one years that monarch had persevered in his policy of subjugating his restless foes, and now he had his reward. Slowly but steadily the wave of conquest had extended into the unknown Saxon world, from the Drimel to the Lippe, from the Weser to the Elbe, and thence to the sea, the limit of the Saxon dominion. Peace and rebellion, the re-

[1] "A primævis temporibus magnæ vir iste fuit continentiæ, ac devote Domino omnipotenti ab ineunte servivit ætate. Vinum et siceram, ac omne unde inebriari potest non bibit. Æsca autem ejus erat panis et mel, holera et poma. Namque ab esu carnium, a lacte et piscibus temperabat, nisi quod memoratus apostolicus Adrianus, ei jam in novissimo propter valetudines quas in corpore tolerabat frequentes, quo piscem comederet, præcepit." *Vita S. Willehadi*, cap. 9.

[2] *Vita S. Willehadi*, Pertz, II. 384. One of his pupils Willeric, presided as bishop of Bremen from the year 789 to 838, and carried on with notable zeal the missionary work in Transalbingia. See Adam. Brem. I. 15. Wiltsch, *Geog. and Statistics of the Church*, I. 387, E. T.

CHAP. X.

A.D. 803.

ception of baptism and the burning of Christian churches, had marked the successive alternations of the bloody strife, and at last, wearied with the ceaseless din of war, the Saxons were fain to acknowledge that Civilization had conquered. Cruel as may have been some of the expedients to which the victor resorted in gaining his end, he followed up his conquests by measures which command our respect. His eight bishoprics[1] of Osnaburg, Bremen, Münster, Minden, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Verden, and Hildesheim, with many monasteries, which he richly endowed, were so many "great religious colonies[2]," whence the blessings of Christianity and civilization might spread in ever-widening circles. It may, indeed, be said that he exalted the Church to a dangerous elevation; but while she possessed a monopoly of the knowledge of the age, it was inevitable, for nowhere else could either the means or the men be found to exert a beneficial influence on the half-civilized masses he had subdued. Now that the great fabric of the Carlovingian Empire has passed away, we may smile at his Capitularies, his "Fields of May," his "Missi Dominici;" but it is difficult to see how the wild world of the ninth century could have been lifted out of the slough of barbarism, or the isolated efforts of a Sturmi, a Willehad, or a Liudger, could have brought forth any fruit to perfection, without the rare energy and skill of this great monarch. For the dark shadow of his private life, and the cruelty of some of his campaigns[3], may be pleaded as some atonement "the huge Dom-Minsters" which look into the waters of the Rhine, and the Schools where Alcuin from England, and Clement[4] from Ireland, and Peter of Pisa, and Paulinus of Aquitaine, and many others, kept alive the torch of learning, and handed it on to others.

A.D. 780—805.

[1] Wiltsch's *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, I. 373, and notes. The foundation of these bishoprics extends from 780—805.

[2] Milman, II. 287.

[3] Palgrave's *Normandy*, I. 26. Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures*, I. 96.

[4] Lanigan, III. 208.

CHAPTER XI.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

A.D. 800—1011.

"O mira Dei Omnipotentis providentia de vocatione gentium, quam disponit artifex, ut vult, et quando vult, et per quem vult. Ecce quod longo prius tempore Willebrordum item alios et Ebonem voluisse legimus nec potuisse, nunc Ansgarium nostrum et voluisse et perfecisse miramur, dicentes cum Apostolo: *Non est volentis neque currentis, sed est Dei miserentis.*"—ADAMUS BREMENSIS.

Charlemagne and the Norsemen.

THOUGH the victories which Charlemagne gained over the Saxons were thus decisive, he yet lived to see that the tide of barbaric invasion had been thrown back only to be poured upon Europe by a different channel. According to the well-known story of the Mediæval chronicler[1], he was one day at Narbonne, when, in the midst of the banquet, some swift barks were seen putting into the harbour. The company started up, and while some pronounced the crew to be Jewish, others African, others British traders, the keen eye of the great emperor discerned that they had come on no peaceful errand: "It is not with merchandise," said he, "that yonder ships are laden, they are manned with most terrible enemies;" and then he advanced to the window, and stood there a long while in tears. No one dared to ask him the cause of his grief, but he at length

[1] Monachi Sangall. *Gesta Caroli*, II. 14, Pertz, II. 757.

CHAP. XI.
A.D. 800—822.

explained it himself. "It is not for myself," said he, "that I am weeping, or for any harm that yon barks can do to me. But truly I am pained to think that even during my lifetime they have dared to approach this shore, and greater still is my grief when I reflect on the evils they will bring on my successors." His words were only too truly fulfilled. The sight of those piratical banners told its own tale. The fleets he had built, the strong forts and garrison towns he had erected at the mouths of the various rivers throughout his empire were neglected by his successors, and what he foresaw came to pass. Year after year during the ninth century, the children of the North burst forth from their pine-forests, their creeks, and fiords, and icy lakes, and prowled along the defenceless shores of Germany, and France, and England. Nothing seemed to daunt them. They laughed at the fiercest storms, landed on the most inaccessible coasts, pushed up the shallowest rivers, while Charlemagne's degenerate ancestors, bowed down by a wretched fatalism, scarcely dared to lift a hand, and tamely beheld the fairest towns in their dominions sacked and burnt by the crews of those terrible barks[1].

Ravages of the Norsemen.

"Take a map," writes Sir Francis Palgrave[2] in one of his most picturesque passages, "and colour with vermilion the provinces, districts, and shores which the Northmen visited, as the record of each invasion. The colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively, before you arrive at the conclusion of the Carlovingian dynasty. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by or against the pirates; where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burned, destroyed; and the valleys and banks of the Elbe, Rhine, and Moselle,

[1] On the cowardice of the French during the Norman incursions, see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Suppl. notes, p. 43. Michelet's *France*, I. 99.

[2] *Normandy and England*, I. 419. See also Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 431—434.

Scheldt, Meuse, Somme and Seine, Loire, Garonne, and Adour, the inland Allier, and all the coasts and coastlands between estuary and estuary, and the countries between the river-streams, will appear bristling as with chevaux-de-frise. The strongly-fenced Roman cities, the venerated abbeys and their dependent bourgades, often more flourishing and extensive than the ancient seats of government, the opulent sea-ports and trading-towns, were all equally exposed to the Danish attacks, stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury."

Early missionary efforts.

But while the mind faintly strives to conceive the misery and desolation thus inflicted on almost every town and village of Germany and France, it finds satisfaction in the thought that even now missionary zeal did not falter, that while every estuary and river were darkening under the dark sails of the Northmen's barks, men were found bold enough to penetrate into the dreary regions whence they issued forth, to seek them out amidst their pine-forests and icebound lakes, and implant the first germs of Christian civilization even in the last retreats of the old Teutonic faith. Already, so early as the year 780, Willehad, as we have seen, had carried the Word as far as the Ditmarsi[1], in the neighbourhood of Hamburg, and the intrepid Liudger had longed to penetrate into still more Northern regions. And though Charlemagne positively forbade his making the attempt, he was not insensible to the value of such self-denying zeal, and, at the conclusion of his Saxon wars, had already conceived the idea of establishing an archbishopric at Hamburg[2], as a starting-point for further missionary operations.

Willehad.

Liudger.

[1] "Transalbianorum Saxonum tres sunt populi: primi ad oceanum *Thiatmarsgi* (al. Thiedmarsi), et eorum ecclesia Mildenthorp (al. Melindorf); secundi *Holtzati*, dicti a sylvis, quas incolunt, eos Sturia flumen interfluit, quorum ecclesia Sconenfeld; tertii, qui et nobiliores, *Sturmarii* dicuntur, eo quod seditionibus illa gens frequenter agitur." Adam. Brem. *H. Eccl.* c. lxi.

[2] Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 441.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 822.

Visit of Harold Klak to the Court of Louis-le-Débonnaire.

Though unable himself to carry out this design, it was not neglected by Louis-le-Débonnaire. He had not long succeeded to the throne, when he was visited by Harold Klak, king of Jutland, begging his interference in a dispute concerning the throne of Denmark, between himself and the sons of Godfrey king of Lethra[1]. When Harold had done homage to Louis, it was agreed that an army of Franks and Slavonians should aid him in recovering his dominions, and Ebbo, the primate of France, deeming the opportunity signally auspicious, was not unwilling to leave his palace at Rheims, and undertake the arduous task of combining with the expedition the promulgation of the Gospel. Long desirous of engaging in such a work, and possessing peculiar qualifications for uniting the office of ambassador and teacher amongst the heathen, he set out, about the year 822, accompanied by the eminent Halitgar, bishop of Cambray, and encouraged by the joint co-operation of Pope Pascal I. and the diet of Attigny[2]. The missionaries made Welanao, in Holstein, their head-quarters; but of their operations we have little or no information. According to one account, after they had achieved some little success, two of the archbishop's retinue were passing through a town in the country of the Ditmarsi, on Woden's-day, when they were struck by lightning, and the converts regarding this as a sign of the wrath of their ancient god against the teachers of a hostile faith, fell away, and thus the archbishop's work came to an end. He returned, however, after an absence of three years, accompanied by Harold himself, his queen, and a retinue of Danes, who were all baptized with great pomp in the vast Dom of Mayence[3].

Mission of Archbishop Ebbo.

Baptism of Harold, his queen, and son.

[1] "From the lineage of Godfrey came 'Eric of the bloody axe,' 'king of the Pagans,' in Northumbria, whilst Harold was grandfather to *Gorm-hin-rige*, Gorm the mighty, the Gormund, Codrinus, Guthrun, or Guthrun-Athelstan, of our English historians, who in King Alfred's time conquered East Anglia, and settled the Danelaghe." Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 256.

[2] *Vita S. Anskarii*, c. xiii. Pertz, II. 699. Adam. Brem. I. 17.

[3] Thegani *Vita Hludowici Imp.*

Louis stood as sponsor for Harold, Judith for his queen, Lothair for their son Godfrey, while the different members of the Danish suite found many among the Frankish courtiers ready to do them a similar service. A sumptuous entertainment, and the bestowal of royal gifts, accompanied the administration of the rite, while Harold solemnly did homage to the emperor, and agreed to hold the Danish kingdom as a feudatory of the Carlovingian crown. CHAP. XI. A.D. 826.

A door was thus opened for still further operations, and before the impression made at Mayence should be effaced, Ebbo determined to seek out a monk, who might be willing to accompany the newly-baptized king on his return to Denmark, and remain at the court as a priest and teacher. But the well-known ferocity of the Northmen long deterred any one from offering himself for such a duty. At length, Wala the abbot of Corbey near Amiens, announced that one of his monks was not unwilling to undertake the arduous task.

Anskar.

The intrepid volunteer was Anskar, a native of a village not far from the monastery[1]. Born in the year 801, and early devoted by his parents to the monastic life, he had always evinced the deepest religious enthusiasm, and his ardent imagination taught him to believe that he often saw visions, and heard voices from another world. He had lost his mother when he was only five years of age, and the vision of her surrounded by a majestic choir of virgins, the fairest of whom bade him, if he would join

Birth and education.

c. xxxiii. Pertz, II. 597. Adam Brem. I. 17. "Ludovicus ... conditionem barbaro intulit, opem spondendo, si Christi cultum exequi consensisset. Nullam enim posse aiebat animorum intervenire concordiam, dissona sacra complexis. Quamobrem petitorem opis primum religionis contubernio opus habere, neque magnorum operum consortes existere posse, quos supernæ venerationis formula disparasset." Saxo Grammaticus, lib. IX. Compare the baptism of Guthrun and thirty of his chieftains after his defeat by Alfred at Eddingdon in 879. On the number of abbots of Danish origin at the convent of Croyland, from the ninth to the twelfth century, see Worsse's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 131. Pauli's *Alfred*, p. 109.

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* II. 690—725.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 826.

his mother in bliss, flee the pomps and vanities of the world, exerted a profound impression on his susceptible heart, and he devoted himself more than ever to prayer and meditation. When he was thirteen years of age, news reached the monastery of the death of the Emperor Charlemagne. Anskar had relaxed somewhat from his youthful austerities at this period, and the thought that even that mighty prince, whom he himself had seen in all the plenitude of power, could not escape the hand of death, filled him with awe and horror[1]. The greatest of great emperors had passed away, and now, in the sepulchre which he had dug for himself, he was "sitting on his curule chair, clad in his silken robes, ponderous with broidery, pearls, and orfray, the imperial diadem on his head, his closed eyelids covered, his face swathed in the dead-clothes, girt with his baldric, the ivory horn slung in his scarf, his good sword Joyeuse by his side, the Gospel-book open on his lap, musk and amber and sweet spices poured around[2]." No wonder that as the tale of the mighty monarch's death and strange entombment sped from monastery to monastery, there were "great searchings of heart" in the silent cloisters. At Corbey Anskar must have often gazed on the blinded face of Desiderius, the king of the Lombards, and now, when he heard his brethren whisper to one another their dread misgivings[3] respecting the great emperor's eternal state, all the old religious enthusiasm returned, and he gave himself up more unreservedly than ever to the severest discipline, and his fastings and vigils were rewarded by still more frequent visions. Meanwhile his talents brought him into general notice, and when the

Fears of the death of Charlemagne.

[1] "De tanti itaque imperatoris excessu ipse *nimio terrore atque horrore perculsus*, rursus cœpit ad se redire, et admonitionis sanctæ Dei Genitricis ad memoriam verba reducere." *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. iii.

[2] Palgrave's *N. and E.* I. 158.

[3] On the trances and dreams of Wetterius, the monk of Reichenau, who saw the great emperor punished in purgatorial Phlegethon, see Palgrave's *N. and E.* I. 162.

abbot founded another monastic outpost in Westphalia, in a beautiful valley on the west bank of the Weser, and called it New Corbey[1], Anskar was removed to the new foundation, and with the common consent of all was elected to superintend its conventual school, and to preach to the neighbouring population. CHAP. XI. A.D. 826.

He was on a visit to Old Corbey, when the news arrived that a monk was earnestly required to accompany the Danish Harold to his native land, and that the abbot Wala had named him to the emperor as a fit person to be entrusted with the arduous mission. Summoned to the court, Anskar calmly but resolutely announced his willingness to go; in dreams and visions he had heard, he said, the voice of Christ Himself bidding him preach the Word to the heathen tribes, and nothing should induce him to shrink from the plain path of duty. In vain, therefore, on his return to his monastery, the brethren, learning that he was about to resign all his hopes and prospects to preach amongst heathens and barbarians, warned, protested, and even mocked at him for his madness. Immovable in his resolution to brave all risks, he began to prepare himself for his great enterprise, by prayer and the study of the Scriptures in the solitude of a neighbouring vineyard. So deep was the impression made by his devotion, that Autbert steward of the monastery, and a man of noble birth, when every one else hung back, declared that he could not find it in his heart to desert his friend, and was resolved to become his companion. *Resolves to undertake the Danish Mission.* *Joined by Autbert.*

A foretaste of the difficulties that awaited them was experienced at the outset. No one could possibly be prevailed on to accompany them as an attendant. The abbot himself shrunk from interposing his authority, and they were fain to set out alone. Before starting they had an

[1] *Historia Translationis S. Viti*, Pertz, II. 579. Paschasii Radberti *Vita S. Adelhardi*, Pertz, II. 531.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 826.

audience of the Emperor, and received from him everything they were likely to need for the undertaking, in the shape of church-vessels, tents, and books, together with much exhortation to keep a watchful eye upon Harold and his retinue. From that Danish prince, however, they met with but little encouragement; neither he nor his nobles cared much for their company; and it was not till they arrived at Cologne, whence they were to pass by the Rhine to Holland, and so to Denmark, and where bishop Hadelbald bestowed upon them a ship with two cabins, that he evinced any desire to have much of their society. The better accommodation, however, promised by the use of a cabin, induced him to share the same vessel with Anskar, and the engaging manners of the missionary gradually won his respect, and inspired him with an interest in his undertaking. On landing, Anskar fixed his headquarters at Schleswig, and commenced the foundation of a school, purchasing or receiving from Harold Danish boys whom he hoped to train, so as to form the nucleus of a native ministry. Two years thus passed away, and some impression seemed to be made upon the people by the earnest self-devotion of the missionaries, when Autbert sickened, and was obliged to return to Corbey, where he died. Meanwhile the conversion of Harold, and still more his destruction of the native temples, was regarded by his subjects with the bitterest resentment[1]. A rebellion broke out, and the king was obliged to fly for refuge to the fief of Rustringia, within the ancient Frisick territory, which had been conceded to him by Louis; while Anskar also found it necessary to leave Schleswig, consoled by an unexpected opportunity of commencing a similar work under happier auspices in Sweden.

Accompanies Harold to Denmark.

Difficulties of the undertaking.

[1] Saxo Grammaticus, lib. IX. "Delubra diruit, victimarios proscripsit, flaminium abrogavit, atque inconditæ patriæ Christianismi sacra primus intulit."

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 829.

Missionary efforts in Sweden.

In the year 829 ambassadors from the latter country presented themselves at the court of Louis, and, after arranging the political object of their mission, announced that many of their countrymen were favourably disposed towards Christianity[1]. The commerce carried on, at this period, between Sweden and the port of Doerstadt, combined with the teaching of Christian captives, whom the Swedes had carried off in their piratical excursions, had predisposed a considerable number towards lending a favourable ear to Christian teachers. The Emperor gladly embraced the opportunity, Anskar was summoned to the palace[2], and, after an interview with Louis, declared his entire willingness to undertake the enterprise.

Anskar sails thither.

A monk, named Gislema, was, therefore, left with Harold, and Anskar having found a new companion in Witmar, a brother-monk of Corbey, set out in the year 831 with presents from Louis for the king of Sweden. But the voyage was most disastrous. The missionaries had not proceeded far, when they were attacked by pirates; a fierce battle ensued, and their crew, though at first victorious, were overpowered in a second engagement, and barely escaped to land. The pirates plundered them of everything; the presents for the king, their own books, and ecclesiastical vestments, all were lost. In this forlorn and destitute condition they reached Birka, a haven and village on the Mälar lake, not far from the ancient capital Sigtuna, where rich merchants resided, and where was the centre of the Northern trade. Here they were hospitably welcomed by the king, Biörn "of the Hill," and received free permission to preach and baptize. The nucleus of a Church was found already existing in the persons of many Christian captives, who had long been deprived of the consolation of Christian ordinances. The work therefore commenced under fair auspices, and before

A.D. 831.

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. ix. [2] Ibid.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 832.

long, Herigar the king's counsellor, announced himself a convert, and erected a church on his estate[1]. After an interval of a year and a half, Anskar returned to the court of Louis, with a letter from the king of Sweden, and announced all that had befallen him. Thereupon the Emperor resolved without further delay to give effect to the ecclesiastical plans formed by his father, and to make Hamburg an archiepiscopal see, and a centre of operations for the Northern missions[2]. Anskar was accordingly elevated to the archiepiscopal dignity, and was consecrated at Ingelheim, by Drogo of Mayence, and other prelates. At the same time, because of the poverty of the diocese, and the dangers to which the mission would be inevitably exposed, the monastery of Turholt in Flanders, between Bruges and Ypres, was assigned to him as a place of refuge, and a source of revenue. Then he was directed to repair to Rome, where he received the pall from Gregory IV., and was regularly authorized to preach the Gospel to the Northern nations[3].

Anskar visits Rome. Receives the pall from Gregory IV.

A.D. 834.

These arrangements made, Anskar returned from Rome. Ebbo, who had been associated with him in the commission to evangelise the North, deputed his missionary office to his nephew Gauzbert, who was raised to the episcopal dignity, and as coadjutor to Anskar was entrusted specially with the Swedish mission[4]. Thither, accordingly, Gauzbert, who had received the name of Simon, set out, received a hearty welcome from Biörn and his people, and laid the foundation of a church at Sigtuna. Meanwhile Anskar had gone to Hamburg, and in pursuance of his

Gauzbert entrusted with the Swedish Mission.

Anskar repairs to Hamburg.

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xi.

[2] "In ultima Saxoniæ regione trans Alliam in civitate Hammaburg sedem constituit archiepiscopalem, cui subjaceret universa Northalbingorum ecclesia, et ad quam pertineret omnium regionum aquilonalium potestas ad constituendos episcopos sive presbyteros, in illas partes pro Christi nomine destinandos." *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xii. Latham's *Taciti Germania*, c. xii.

[3] Jaffé's *Regesta Pont. Rom.* p. 228. Adam. Brem. I. 18.

[4] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xiv.

former plan, bought or redeemed from slavery a number of Danish and Slavonic youths, whom he either educated himself, or sent for that purpose to the monastery of Turholt. But the times were hardly ripe for successful operations. Three years had barely elapsed, when an enormous army of Northmen, led by Eric, king of Jutland, attacked Hamburg, and, before relief could arrive, sacked and burned it, together with the church and monastery which Anskar had erected with great trouble. He himself had barely time to save the sacred relics, and before the sun went down, saw every external memorial of his mission reduced to ashes[1]. "*The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, and blessed be the name of the Lord,*" was the pious exclamation of the archbishop, as he surveyed the scene of desolation. Driven from Hamburg, he wandered for a long time over his devastated diocese, followed by a few of his clergy and scholars, and at length sought refuge at Bremen; but the envious bishop Leutbert refusing to receive him, he was fain to avail himself of the hospitality of a noble lady in the district of Holstein. And, as if this was not enough, he now received intelligence that, owing to similar risings of the Northmen, the hopes of the Swedish mission were utterly crushed[2]. The pagan party had conspired against the bishop Gauzbert, expelled him from the country, and murdered his nephew Nithard. But divine vengeance, we are assured, did not fail to pursue the conspirators. One of them had carried home some of the property of the missionaries. Before long he died together with his mother and sister, and his father found his goods wasting away from day to day. Alarmed at this sudden reverse of fortune, he began to consider what god he could have offended to bring all these trou-

A.D. 834.

A.D. 837. *Rising of the Northmen.*

Expulsion of Ansgar, and Gauzbert.

[1] Adam. Brem. I. 23. Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 441.
[2] Ibid.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 837.

bles on his house. Unable to settle the difficulty himself, he had recourse to a soothsayer. The lots were cast, and it was found that none of the native deities bore him any ill-will. At length the soothsayer explained the difficulty. "It is the God of the Christians," said he, "that is the author of thy ruin; there is something dedicated to Him concealed in thy house, and therefore all these evils have come upon thee, nor canst thou escape so long as that sacred thing remains unrestored[1]." After vainly trying, for some time, to comprehend what this could mean, the other suddenly recollected the day when his son had brought home from the spoil of the Christians' dwellings, one of their sacred books. Stricken with alarm, he immediately called together the inhabitants of the town, told them all that had occurred, and prayed their advice in the emergency. Every one declined to receive the terrible relic, and at last, fearful of further vengeance if he retained it in his house, the man covered it carefully and then fastened it to a stake on the public road, with a notice that any one who wished might take it down, and that for the crime he had unwittingly been guilty of against the Christians' God, he was ready to offer any satisfaction that might be required. One of the native Christians took it down, and the man's terrors were appeased.

Anskar's patience.

Anskar, meanwhile, was still wandering over his desolated diocese. Even the monastery of Turholt, which Louis had bestowed upon him for the very purpose of being a covert from storms like these, was closed against him, having been bestowed upon a layman by Charles the Bald. Most men would have sunk under such accumulated disappointments, but Anskar waited patiently in hope of some change, and comforted himself with the

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xviii. "Christus," inquit, "sic te habet perditum; et quia quodlibet illorum, quod illi consecratum fuerat, in domo tua manet reconditum, invenerunt te omnia mala hæc quæ perpessus es, nec poteris ab his liberari, donec illud in domo tua manserit."

words of archbishop Ebbo shortly before his death; "Be assured, brother," said that prelate, "that what we have striven to accomplish for the glory of Christ will bring forth fruit in the Lord. For it is my firm and settled belief, nay, I know of a surety, that though what we have undertaken amongst these nations is subject, for a time, to obstacles and difficulties, on account of our sins, yet it will not be lost or perish altogether, but will, by God's grace, thrive and prosper, until the name of the Lord is made known to the furthest ends of the earth[1]." And, before long, events occurred which seemed to promise that the clouds would roll away, and a brighter epoch be inaugurated to cheer the heart of the Apostle of the North.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 842.

Mindful of the converted chief Herigar, he had sent Ardgar, an anchoret in holy orders, to Sigtuna, with directions to see how he fared, and to strengthen him against falling back into heathenism. Thither, therefore, Ardgar set out, and was rejoiced to find Herigar still remaining faithful to the religion he had embraced. The recollection of the divine vengeance, which had attended the previous outbreak, protected the missionary from injury, and the new king who had succeeded Biörn was persuaded by Herigar to permit Ardgar to preach the Gospel without fear of molestation. That chief was no half-hearted believer, and openly confronted the malice of the pagan party. On one occasion, as they were boasting of the power of their gods, and of the many blessings they had received by remaining faithful to their worship, and were reviling him as a traitor and an apostate, he bade them put the matter to an open and decisive proof. "If there be so much doubt," said he, "concerning the superior might of our respective gods, let us decide by miracles whose power is greatest, whether that of the many ye call gods, or of my one Omnipotent Lord, Jesus Christ. Lo,

A.D. 844.

He sends Ardgar to Sigtuna.

Herigar's constancy.

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxxiv.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 844.

the season of rain is at hand. Do ye call upon the name of your gods, that the rain may be restrained from falling upon you; and I will call upon the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, that no drop of rain may fall on me; and the God that answereth our prayers, let him be God." The heathen party agreed, and, repairing to a neighbouring field, took their seats in great numbers on one side, while Herigar, attended only by a little child, sat on the other. In a few moments the rain descended in torrents, drenched the heathens to the skin, and swept away their tents, while on Herigar and the little child, we are assured, no drop fell, and even the ground around them remained dry. "Ye see," he cried, "which is the true God; bid me not, then, desert the faith I have adopted, but rather lay aside your own errors, and come to a knowledge of the truth[1]."

Conflict of Christianity and Odinism.

Another instance recorded by the biographer of Anskar is deserving of attention, because it illustrates some of the motives which induced many at this period to exchange heathenism for Christianity. On one occasion the town of Birka was attacked by a piratical expedition of Danes and Swedes, under the command of a king of Sweden, who had been expelled from his realm. The place was closely invested, and there seemed to be no prospect of a successful defence. In their alarm the townspeople offered numerous sacrifices to their gods, and, when all other means failed, collected such treasures as they possessed, together with a hundred pounds of silver, and succeeded in coming to terms with the hostile chiefs. But their followers, not satisfied with the amount, prepared to storm the town. Again the gods were consulted, the altars raised, the victims offered, and with equally unpromising results. Herigar now interposed, rebuked the people for their obstinate adherence to gods that could not profit, or aid them in their trouble;

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xix.

and when they bade him suggest some device, and promised to follow his counsel, he bade them make a vow of obedience to the Lord God Omnipotent, assured that if they turn to Him, He, at any rate, would not fail them in this hour of danger. The people took his advice, went forth into an open plain, and there solemnly vowed to keep a fast in honour of the God of the Christians, if He would rescue them from their enemies. Help came in an unexpected fashion. The Swedish king, while the army were clamouring for the signal to attack, suggested that the gods should be consulted by lot whether it was their will that Birka should be destroyed. "There are many great and powerful deities there," said he; "there also, formerly, a church was built, and even now the worship of the Great Christ is observed by many, and He is more powerful than any other of the gods, and is ever ready to aid those that put their trust in Him[1]. We ought, then, to inquire whether it be the divine will that we attack the place." Accordingly the lots were cast, and it was discovered that the auspices were not favourable for the assault, and thus Birka was spared. The arrival, therefore, of Ardgar was well-timed; he was warmly welcomed by Herigar, and the Christian party were strengthened in their adherence to the faith[2].

A.D. 844.

Union of the sees of Bremen and Hamburg.

Nor was it in Sweden only that the prospects of the missionaries brightened. In 847 Leutbert, the bishop of Bremen, died. Anskar's own see of Hamburg was now reduced, by the desolating inroads of the Northmen, to four "baptismal churches[3]." It was therefore proposed that

[1] We have other illustrations of the way in which the Christian's God was only regarded as a new Avatar, "a higher power than the old gods." In Iceland, Kodran refused to be baptized till he had seen a trial of strength between the bishop and a sacred stone in the neighbourhood. The bishop intoned Church-hymns over it 'till it split in two. *Kristni-Saga*, cap. II. quoted in Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, 101.

[2] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xix.

[3] "Non nisi quattuor baptismales habebat ecclesias diœcesis, et hæc ipsa multoties jam barbarorum incursionibus devastata." *Vita*, c. xxii.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 849.

the see of Bremen should be annexed to the archbishopric of Hamburg, and, after some difficulty, the plan was matured, and Anskar found himself no longer hampered by want of means from devoting himself to the wider planting of the faith. At the same time he found himself able to appoint a priest over the church at Schleswig, and from Horik, king of Jutland, he no longer experienced opposition in preaching the word amongst the people. Thereupon many who had received the rite of baptism at Hamburg and Doerstadt, but had secretly conformed to idolatry, publicly professed their adhesion to the Christian faith, and rejoiced in the opportunity of joining in Christian fellowship[1]. The trade also of Doerstadt prospered by the change; Christian merchants flocked thither in greater numbers, and with greater confidence, and thus helped forward the work of the missionaries.

A.D. 850.

At this juncture the hermit Ardgar returned from Sweden. Anskar, more than ever unwilling that the mission there should be allowed to droop, tried to prevail on Gauzbert to revisit the scene of his former labours. But the latter, discouraged by his previous failure, declined, and the "Apostle of the North" finding no one else willing to undertake the work, once more girded up his loins, and encouraged by Horik[2], who gave him letters to Olaf, king of Sweden, and deputed attendants to accompany him, set out for Birka. The time of his landing was unfortunate. The heathen party had been roused by the native priests, and a crusade was preached against the strange doctrines. Suborning a man who pretended to have received a mes-

Anskar again visits Sweden.

[1] There were defects, however, as might be expected. "Libenter quidem signaculum crucis [=*Primsigaing*] recipiebant, ut catechumeni fierent, quo eis ecclesiam ingredi et sacris officiis interesse liceret, baptismi tamen perceptionem differebant, hoc sibi domum dijudicantes, ut in fine vitæ suæ baptizarentur, quatinus purificati lavacro salutari, puri et immaculati vitæ æternæ januas absque aliqua retardatione intrarent." *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxiv. See also *Quarterly Review*, No. 221.

[2] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxvi.

sage from the native deities, the priests announced that it was the will of heaven, if the people wished for new gods, to admit their departed king Eric into their company, and to allow divine honours to be paid to him. To such a pitch of frenzy had the feelings of the populace been brought, that the retinue of the archbishop pronounced it absolute madness to persevere in his undertaking.

The reception of Christianity decided by the sacred lots.

But Anskar was not to be thus thwarted. He invited Olaf to a banquet, set before him the presents sent by the king of Jutland, and announced the object of his visit. Olaf, for his part, was not indisposed to make the concessions he desired, but, as former missionaries had been expelled from the country, and there was danger of a revulsion of feeling, he suggested that it would be well to submit the affair once for all to the solemn decisions of the sacred lots, and consult in open council the feelings of the people. Anskar agreed, and a day was fixed for deciding the momentous question. First the council of the chiefs were formally asked their opinion. They craved the casting of the lots. This omen was taken, and was favourable to the admission of the archbishop and his retinue. This was announced to Anskar by one of the chiefs, who bade him be of good courage and play the man, for God plainly favoured his undertaking. Then the general assembly of the people of Birka was convened, and, at the command of the king, a herald proclaimed aloud the purport of the archbishop's visit. This was the signal for a great tumult, in the midst of which an aged chief arose, and, in the true spirit of Coifi the Northumbrian priest, thus addressed the assembly; "Hear me, O king and people. The god, whom we are invited to worship, is not unknown to us, nor the aid he can render to those that put their trust in him. Many of us have already proved this by experience, and have felt his assistance in many perils and especially on the

Speech of one of the chiefs in the assembly.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 850.

sea[1]. Why, then, reject what we know to be useful and necessary for us? Not long ago some of us went to Dorstede, and believing that this new religion could profit us much, willingly professed ourselves its disciples. Now the voyage thither is beset with dangers, and pirates abound on every shore. Why, then, reject a religion thus brought to our very doors, which we went a long way before to seek? Why not permit the servants of a god, whose protecting aid we have already experienced, to abide amongst us? Listen to my counsel, then, O king and people, and reject not what is plainly for our advantage. We see our own deities failing us, and unable to aid us in time of danger; surely it is a good thing to enjoy the favour of a god who always and at all times can and will aid those that call upon him[2]."

Permission given to preach at Birka.

His words found favour with the people, and it was unanimously resolved that the archbishop should be permitted to take up his abode amongst them, and should not be hindered in disseminating the Christian faith. This resolution was announced to Anskar by the king in person, who further conceded a grant of land for building a church, and welcomed Erimbert, a colleague of the archbishop, whom the latter presented as the new director of the Swedish mission. Though the resolution of the assembly bound only the immediate neighbourhood of Birka, yet in other parts of the country a similar leaning in favour of the new faith was manifested, and the worship of Christ was allowed as a powerful Deity in war, and a tried Protector in all dangers[3].

[1] In Mallet's *North. Antiquities* (p. 257), we find it recorded that on the voyage to Greenland the crew of a Norse vessel found a stranded whale—thereupon their leader exclaimed, "The redbeard Thor has been more helpsome to us than your Christ. Seldom has my protector refused me anything that I have asked him."

[2] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxvii.

[3] We have a striking illustration of this in the expedition of Olaf against Courland, in 861. (*Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxx.) For nine days he fruitlessly attacked Pilten, and made no impression on the 15,000 warriors it sheltered. Recourse was

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 855.

Meanwhile matters had retrograded in Denmark. Eric the Red, though not professedly a Christian, had, as we have seen, aided the archbishop in the introduction of Christianity. His apostasy provoked the inveterate hostility of the Northmen. The sea-kings determined to avenge the insults offered to their laws, their institutions, their national gods. Rallying from all quarters under the banner of Guthrun, the nephew of Eric, they attacked the apostate king near Flensburgh in Jutland. The battle raged for three days, and at its close Eric and Guthrun[1], with "a cohort of Kings and Jarls," lay dead on the field; and so tremendous had been the slaughter that all the Viking nobility seemed to have been utterly exterminated. The new king, Eric II., easily persuaded by one of the pagan chiefs that the recent reverses were owing to the apostasy of his predecessor, ordered one of the churches to be closed, and forbade all further missionary operations. After a while, however, he was induced to change his policy, and Anskar, on his return from Sweden, was reinstated in the royal favour, and received a grant of land for the erection of a second church at Ripa, in Jutland, over which he placed Rimbert, a native priest, charging him to win the hearts of his barbarous flock by the sincerity and devotion of his life. The new king further evinced the change in

had to the lots, but no heathen deity was found willing to aid them. Then "quidam negotiatorum, memores doctrinæ institutionis domini Episcopi, suggerere eis cœperunt: 'Deus,' inquiunt, 'Christianorum multoties ad se clamantibus auxiliatur, et potentissimus est in adjuvando. Quæramus an ille nobiscum esse velit, et vota ei placita libenti animo spondeamus.' Omnium itaque rogatu supplici missa est sors, et inventum, quod Christus eis vellet auxiliari. Quod cum publice denunciatum cunctis innotuisset, omnium corda ita subito roborata sunt, ut confestim ad urbem expugnandam intrepidi vellent accedere. 'Quid,' inquiunt, 'nunc vobis formidandum, quidne pavendum est? Christus est nobiscum; pugnemus, et viriliter agamus; nihil nobis obstare poterit, nec deerit nobis certa victoria, quia potentissimum Deorum nostri adjutorem habemus.'" The town fortunately capitulated.

[1] "Tanta cæde utrique mactati sunt, ut vulgus omne caderet, de stirpe autem regia nemo omnium remaneret, præter puerum unum, nomine Horicum." Adam. Brem. I. 30. *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxxi. Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 449.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 856—865.

his sentiments by permitting, what had hitherto been strictly forbidden through fear of enchantment, the suspension of a bell in the church of Schleswig[1].

Anskar's efforts to check slavery.

Anskar now returned to Hamburg, and devoted himself to the administration of his diocese. One of the last acts of his life was a noble effort to check the infamous practice of the slave-trade, which recalls the similar efforts of the Apostle of Ireland with the chief Coroticus. A number of native Christians had been carried off by the Northern pirates, and reduced to slavery. Effecting their escape, they sought refuge in the territory of North Albingia. Instead of sheltering the fugitives, some of the chiefs captured them again, and while they retained some as their own slaves, sold others to pagan and even professedly Christian tribes around. News of this reached Anskar, and, at the risk of his life, he determined to confront the guilty chiefs in person, and rebuke them for their cruelty. A vision of Christ, he declared, had prompted him to this resolve, and he carried his point. Sternly and dauntlessly he rebuked the chiefs, and succeeded in inducing them to set the captives once more free, and to ransom as many as possible from the bondage into which they had sold them[2].

Close of his life.

A.D. 865.

This noble act formed an appropriate conclusion to his life. He was now more than sixty-four years of age, and during more than half that period had laboured unremittingly in the arduous mission-field of the North. His biographer expatiates eloquently on his character, as exhibiting the perfect model of ascetic perfection. Even when elevated to the episcopal dignity he never exempted himself from the rigid discipline of the cloister. He was robed in a hair-cloth shirt by night as well as by day; he measured out, at least in earlier youth, his food and drink

[1] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxxii. "Insuper etiam quod antea nefandum paganis videbatur, ut clocca in eadem haberetur ecclesia, consensit." Adam. Brem. I. 31.

[2] *Vita S. Anskarii*, cap. xxxviii. Adam. Brem. I. 31.

His character.

by an exact rule; he chanted a fixed number of Psalms when he rose in the morning, and when he retired to sleep at night. His charity was unbounded. A hospital at Bremen testified to his care of the sick and needy, and not only did he distribute a tenth of his income to the poor, and divide amongst them any presents he might receive, but every five years he tithed his income afresh that he might be sure the poor had their proper share. Whenever he went on a visitation tour of his diocese, he made a practice of never sitting down to dinner in any place without first ordering some of the poor to be brought in, and he himself, sometimes, would wash their feet and distribute amongst them bread and meat. Such a practical exhibition of Christian love could not fail to have a gradual influence even on the rough pirates of the North, and they testified their sense of the power he wielded over them by ascribing to him many miraculous cures. But he was not one to seek a questionable distinction of this kind. "One miracle," he once said to a friend, "I would, if worthy, ask the Lord to grant me, and that is that by His grace He would make me a good man." One source, however, of disquietude troubled his last hours. In vision he believed it had been intimated to him that he was destined to win the martyr's crown[1]. What sin of his had deprived him of this honour? In vain one of his most intimate pupils pointed out that it had not been distinctly intimated by what death he was to die, by the flame, or the sword, or shipwreck. In vain he recalled the hardships the archbishop had undergone, and the perils which had made his life a continual martyrdom. At length, his biographer informs us, another and a last vision assured him that his fears were groundless, that no sin of his had robbed him of the wished-for crown.

[1] In the vision related, so his biographer says, in the very words of Anskar himself, he declares that a voice from the highest heavens had bidden him, "Go, return hither, crowned with martyrdom." *Vita S. Anskarii*, II. 3.

CHAP. XI.

A.D. 865. Thus comforted, he busied himself with arranging the affairs of his diocese, and after dictating a letter, in which he earnestly commended the Northern mission to the care of the Emperor, calmly expired on the 3rd of February, 865.

His death.

That Anskar's success was partial, and confined to narrow limits, was the natural result of the times in which he lived. The whole North was in confusion. His successor Rimbert contrived to keep the flickering spark alive, but was sadly impeded by incursions of Northmen and Slaves; nor could any permanent impression be made on the great mass of heathen barbarism till Henry I. established, in the year 934, the Mark of Schleswig as a protection for Germany from the constant inroads of the Northmen. When the work commenced so nobly by Anskar was resumed, its effect was limited, to a great extent, to the Danish mainland, while the islanders long persisted in their old rites, and still continued, in some places, to offer human sacrifices. In many places the princes continued pagan, and, when they did profess a change of sentiments in religious matters, there was no telling how long the change might last, originating, as it too often did, in low motives, and based on the temporal advantages afforded by the rival faiths. Thus Henry I. extorted from king Gorm a promise not to molest the Christians, and archbishop Unni repaired to the new Christian colony in Schleswig, hoping to produce some effect on the Danish chief. But all his efforts were of no more avail than those of Willibrord or Boniface on Radbod. The influence of his mother, the sagacious and renowned Thyra, over the mind of her grim-visaged son Harold, surnamed "Blaatand" or "Black-Tooth," enabled the archbishop to obtain from that prince, when associated in the government with his father, permission to travel in every part of Denmark, and extend a knowledge of Christianity[1]. But it was not

Difficulties of his successor Rimbert.

A.D. 865—888.

A.D 934.

Harold Blaatand.

[1] On Harold Blaatand, see Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, II. 277. Snorro Sturleson, I. 393.

till the year 972, that, after an unsuccessful war with the Emperor Otho I., Harold consented to be baptized. The presence of Otho graced his reception into the Christian Church, but the circumstances which had won his respect for the Christian faith as contrasted with his old national gods, did not augur well for his fidelity. According to an old tradition he was once visited by a priest, named Poppo, from North Friesland. At a banquet, where Poppo was a guest, the conversation turned on the then much debated question of the superiority of the old and the new religions. The Danes asserted that "the White Christ" was indeed a mighty God, but their deities were mightier, and could perform more wonderful works. Thereupon Poppo declared that Christ was the only true God, and declaimed against the deities of the country as no better than evil spirits. Harold quietly asked the missionary if he was willing in his own person to put the question to the test. Poppo declared his perfect readiness, and was kept in ward till the morrow. Harold, meanwhile, ordered a mass of iron to be heated red-hot, and then bade the champion of the new faith take it up and carry it. Poppo, we are assured, complied with the suggestion with undaunted resolution; and the astonished king, perceiving that his hand suffered no harm, and convinced thenceforward of the superiority of the Christians' God, ordered due honour to be paid to His ministers, and declared the national deities unworthy to be compared with Him[1]. From this time he continued to regard Christianity with more or

Story of Poppo.

[1] The story is related in Widukind, III. 65, (Pertz, v. 463), also in Thietmar, *Chronicon*, II. 8, and a similar story, though, as it seems, of a different Poppo, is told in Adam. Brem. II. 33; where see Dahlmann's note. In the latter case, however, it was the Christian's brave endurance rather than a miraculous exemption from pain which won the monarch's attention, "liquentes flammas tam patienter sustinuit, ut veste prorsus combusta et in favillam redacta hilari et jocundo vultu nec fumum incendii se sensisse testatus est." On the question of the credibility of these conflicting traditions, see Neander, v. 397. A bishop Poppo is mentioned as instructing king Harold in Snorro, I. 393.

CHAP. XI. A.D. 941—990.

less favour; but the rough methods he adopted, in the spirit of Peter the Great, to check the rude passions of his people, can scarcely be said to have aided Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, in his efforts to spread the faith. He succeeded, however, in consecrating several Danish bishops, and thus hoped to open up other centres of missionary activity[1]. But the battle between heathenism and Christendom was not yet ended. Harold's own son, Sweno, headed the rebellious heathen faction, and the grim-visaged king perished in the unnatural contest. Seated on the throne, Sweno commenced a crusade against the professors of the faith in which he himself had been educated, expelled the Christian priests, and re-established the pagan party. But his eye was fixed on the fair lands of England, where his atrocities exceeded all that ever before had been committed by the Northmen. Wasted fields, plundered churches, blazing villages, pillaged monasteries, marked his progress, and the final close of the great migration of nations which, as Lappenberg remarks[2], these Danish invasions may be regarded, was signalised by atrocities to which history affords few parallels. Under circumstances like these it is no matter of surprise that the results of missionary labour in the North[3] were scanty, and its very footing precarious. Little that was permanent can be said to have been effected before the reign of Canute; and in the meantime it will be well to turn to the kingdom of Norway, before we touch upon the religious reforms of that great monarch.

Apostasy of Sweno. A.D. 991-1014.

His death in England. A.D. 1018.

[1] Adam. Brem. II. 15, sq.

[2] Lappenberg, II. 181.

[3] For seventy years after the death of Anskar Sweden was scarcely visited by the Christian missionary, and until the reign of Olaf the Lap-king (1015—1024) little was effected towards the propagation of Christianity. He introduced several German clergy, and many from England; of the latter, Sigfrid, archdeacon of York, carried on missionary work for many years, and was consecrated to the see of Wexio. But reactions constantly occurred, nor was Christianity firmly established till the reign of King Inge in 1075. Robertson's *Church History*, II. 446. Gieseler, II. 451.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONVERSION OF NORWAY.

A.D. 900—1030.

"Transeuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur in Sveoniam vel Normanniam, quæ sunt duo latissima aquilonis regna, et nostro orbi fere incognita."—ADAMUS BREMENSIS.

Condition of Norway till the ninth century.

UNTIL the ninth century Norway was divided into numerous petty principalities, and was little known to the rest of Europe, except as the hive whence issued numberless hordes of pirates who devastated her shores. Up to the same period the political power in the country had been shared by a host of petty princes, who, true to the motto of the Norsemen, "a man for himself," gratified their love of war by constant contentions with one another. But about the year 860 there arose a king who had very different ideas respecting royal power than those he had received from his fathers. Harold son of Halfdan "the Black" having conquered many of the petty kings of the country, sought, we are told, the hand of Gyda, most beautiful of all the maidens in Norway[1]. But his suit was rejected with scorn. Gyda would never marry the lord of a few thinly-peopled kingdoms. He who had the courage and power to win for himself the mastery over the whole country, he, and he alone, should gain her hand. Harold heard

A.D. 860—933.

Reforms of Harold Haarfager.

[1] Snorro Sturleson's *Heimskringla*, translated by Laing, I. 273.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 860—933.

her reply, and swore he would never comb his beautiful hair till he had become absolute monarch, like Eric of Sweden, or Gorm of Denmark.

Assembling a crowd of youthful warriors he quickly fought his way with his terrible sword, and wherever he went, broke up the little separate clans, abolished the allodial laws of inheritance, and made every land a fief to be held directly from himself. Furthermore, he insisted that all rents should be paid in kind, that the Northman should be his, not only in time of war, but at all times, that he should submit to the jarl appointed by the king, and do him the same suit and service that the Franks rendered to the great counts set over them by Charlemagne. It was a long struggle, but his undaunted courage and perseverence carried him through, and then, mindful of his vow, he cut and combed his hair, and exchanged his name Harold Lufa, or Harold "of the horrid hair," for Haarfager or "Fair-hair," and sent for and married Gyda, by whom he had one daughter and four sons.

Consequent emigration of the Norsemen.

But the change was utterly repugnant to his sturdy and independent subjects, and he saw them leave the land in numbers, to colonise the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Faroes, and Iceland, to invade Russia and Normandy, and become the terror of the coasts of England, Ireland, and Spain[1]. He retained, however, his supremacy till the year

A.D. 933—957.

933, when he resigned in favour of his son Eric Blodöxe. The new king became involved in perpetual wars with his surviving brothers, and the people, groaning under his rule, began to sigh for a deliverer. The deliverer came, and his accession to the throne was the signal for a long contest between Christianity and Odinism in its last stronghold.

News of Eric's cruelties reached the court of our Anglo-

[1] Snorro, I. p. 288. Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 35, Lappenberg, II. 104.

Saxon king Athelstan, where Hacon[1], the youngest son of Harold was, at this time, residing. His protector had taken care that the young prince should be baptized and "brought up in the right faith, and in good habits, and all sorts of exercises," and now strongly favoured his design of offering himself to his countrymen as their deliverer. Furnished with ships and men Hacon sailed to Drontheim, and was straightway joined by Sigurd, Earl of Lade, who espoused his cause, and recommended him to the Thing. The people welcomed their deliverer with shouts of applause, and listened with delight while he promised to secure to the bonders their full udal rights, and restore the old customs. One by one the jarls gave in their adhesion to his cause, and, when Eric, convinced of the disaffection of his people, left the country[2], they gladly made Hacon sole king in his stead.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 933—957.

Hacon at the court of Athelstan.

A.D. 957—961.

Succeeds to the Norwegian throne.

During his residence in England the new king had, as we have said, been baptized, and he now determined to expel the native heathenism, and plant in its stead his newly adopted faith. Such a design, however, was fraught with peril, and Hacon could not fail to foresee the storm of opposition he would encounter. Resolved to proceed by degrees, he contented himself, for the present, with a secret conformity to his new creed, and kept holy the Sundays and the Friday-fasts[3]. As a first step, however, in the proposed direction, he contrived to persuade his people to keep the great festival of Yule[4] at the same

Determines to put down heathenism.

[1] Snorro, I. 309. Lappenberg, II. 105, 106, who gives the evidence on both sides.

[2] Eric came over to England, and held Northumberland as a fief from king Athelstan, submitting to baptism with his wife, children, and retinue. Snorro, I. 316.

[3] Snorro, I. 325. Geijer, p. 43 *n*. Neander, V. 404.

[4] "Yule, or the midwinter feast, was the greatest festival in the countries of Scandinavia. Yule bonfires blazed to scare witches and wizards; offerings were made to the gods; the boar dedicated to Freÿr was placed on the table, and over it the warriors vowed to perform great deeds. Pork, mead, and ale abounded, and Yuletide passed merrily away with games, gymnastics, and mirth of all kinds." Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 83.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 860—933.

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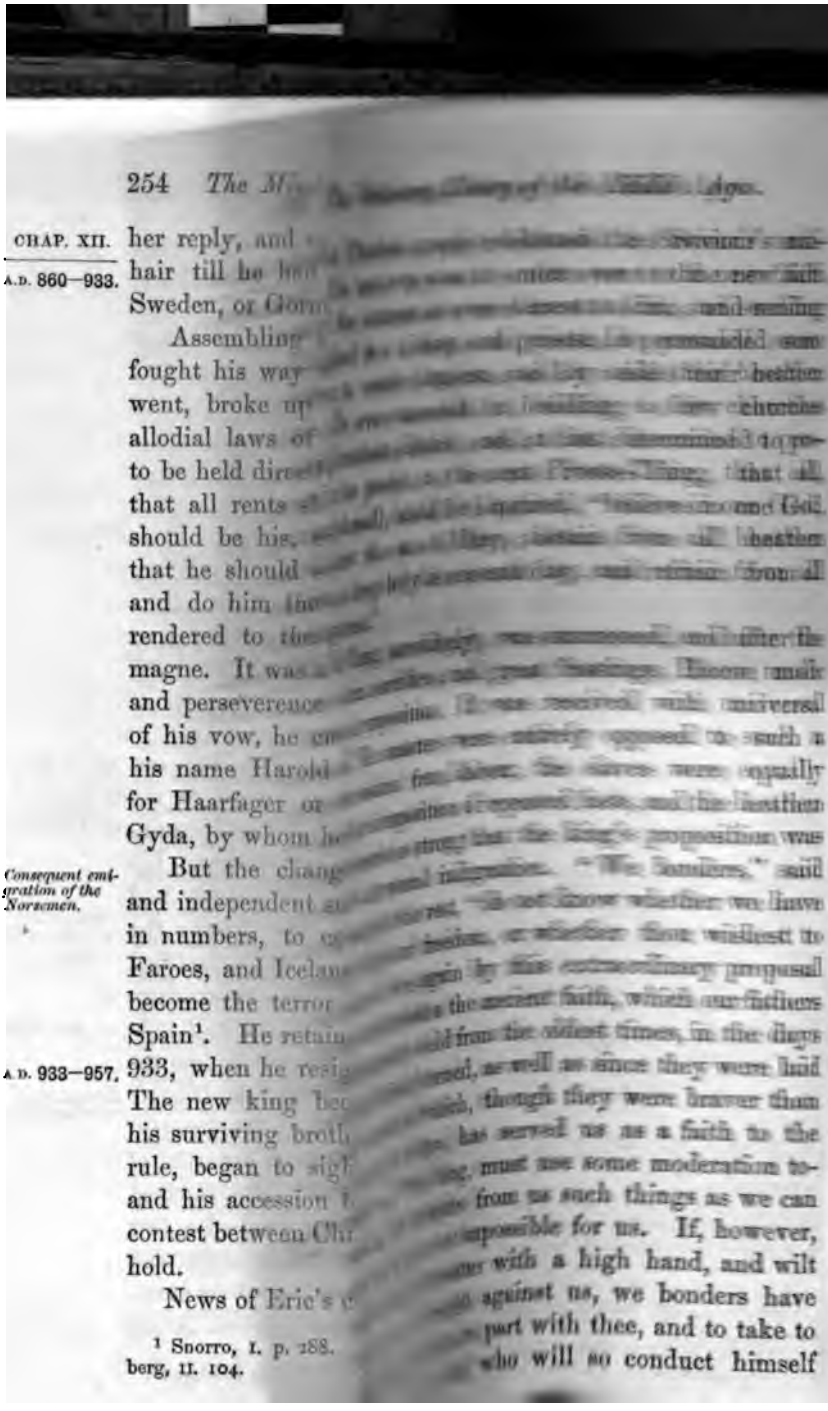
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Consequent emigration of the Norsemen.

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News of Eric's

[1] Snorro, I. p. 288. berg, II. 104.



towards us, that we can freely and safely enjoy that faith which suits our own inclinations[1]."

Great applause followed this independent speech, and Earl Sigurd, who presided over the sacrifices, was fain to intimate to the people the king's acquiescence with their wishes, and to advise him to postpone his religious reforms to a more convenient season. But the suspicions of the people were now excited, and Earl Sigurd's promises did not satisfy them. At the next harvest festival, therefore, they demanded that Hacon should openly avow his attachment to the national faith by drinking, as heretofore, in honour of the gods. Earl Sigurd promised that he should do so, and persuaded the king, who had hitherto been wont on such occasions to take his meals in a little house by himself, to present himself on his throne before his people, and quiet their suspicions. The first goblet went round, and was blessed in Odin's name[2]. The Earl drank first, and then handed it to Hacon, who took it, and made the sign of the Cross over it. "What does the king mean by doing so?" said one of the bonders; "will he not sacrifice?" "He is blessing the goblet in honour of Thor," replied the earl, "by making the sign of his hammer over it when he drinks it." This quieted the people.

Hacon bidden to conform to heathen customs.

But, on the next day, they resolved to put Hacon's sincerity to a severer test, and therefore pressed him to eat of the horseflesh slain in the sacrifices. This was one of the distinguishing marks of heathenism, and, as we have seen, had been solemnly forbidden by the Church ever since the days of Archbishop Boniface[3]. Hacon, therefore, positively refused to comply with the demand. Thereupon the bonders offered him the broth, and when he also declined this, they declared he should at least taste the gravy, and

He declines to eat the sacred horseflesh.

[1] Snorro, I. 329.

[2] On the sacred toasts of the Scandinavians, see Snorro, I. 327, Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. xli.

[3] See the correspondence of Gregory III. with Boniface, above, p. 191.

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A.D. 961.

when he refused this too, they were going to lay hands on him, when Earl Sigurd interposed, and so far prevailed with the king that he consented to hold his mouth over "the handle of the kettle, upon which the fat smoke of the boiled horseflesh had settled itself; and the king first laid a linen cloth over the handle, and then gaped over it, and returned to the throne; but neither party was satisfied with this[1]."

Vow of four chiefs.

In the following winter the popular feeling expressed itself still more plainly against Hacon's religious reforms. Four chiefs bound themselves by an oath to root out Christianity in Norway, while four others resolved to force the king to offer sacrifice to the gods. Three churches were burnt and three priests killed at Mære, and when Hacon came thither with Earl Sigurd to hold the Yule Feast, the bonders insisted that the king should offer sacrifice. The tumult could only be appeased by some show of compliance, and at Earl Sigurd's intercession, Hacon consented at last, to taste some of the horse-liver, and to empty such goblets as the bonders filled for him. This determined opposition to his plans roused the king's anger, and he was meditating a violent revenge, when the news arrived of the invasion of his kingdom by the sons of his brother Eric. A battle ensued, and the invaders were forced to retire. Henceforth Hacon is said to have become more tolerant of heathen rites, and finding it impossible to stem the torrent of opposition, consented to forego his designs.

A.D. 963.

In the year 963 his kingdom was again invaded by his nephews, and in a great battle he himself was mortally wounded. Perceiving that his end drew near, he called together his friends, and after arranging the affairs of his kingdom, began to feel the pangs of remorse on account of his guilty concession at the Drontheim Feast. "If fate," said he, "should prolong my life, I will at any rate leave

Hacon falls in battle.

[1] Snorro, I. 331.

this country, and go to a Christian land, and do penance for what I have done against God; but should I die in a heathen land, give me any burial you may think fit." Shortly afterwards he expired, and was buried "under a great mound in North Hordaland, in full armour, and in his best clothes." Though he had incurred much enmity from his determination to impose Christianity on his people, all was now forgotten; friends and enemies alike bewailed his death, and solaced themselves for his apostasy, by believing that because he had spared the temples of Odin he had now found a place in Valhalla, "in the blessed abodes of the bright gods[1]."

CHAP. XII. A.D. 963.

Violent efforts of his successor to introduce Christianity.

On the death of Hacon, the sons of Eric, of whom Harold was the eldest, assumed the supreme authority, and having been baptized in England, thought it their duty to pull down the heathen temples, and forbid the sacrifices in all places where they had the power. Great opposition was roused, which was not appeased by the badness of the seasons during their reign, and the harshness they displayed towards the bonders. "In Halogaland," says the Saga, "there was the greatest famine and distress; for scarcely any corn grew, and even snow was lying, and the cattle were bound in the byres all over the country, until Midsummer[2]." In the midst of the commotions that now ensued, Harold Blaatand, king of Denmark, conquered the country, and placed over his new territory the jarl Hacon as his viceroy. Hacon allied himself with the heathen party, and did all in his power to re-establish paganism, in direct contravention of the wishes of Harold Blaatand[3], who, on the occasion of his baptism, had given him priests and "other learned men," and commanded him "to make all

A.D. 977.

Apostasy of the jarl Hacon.

[1] See translation of Eyvind Skaldaspillar's poem on the death of Hacon, and how he was received into Valhalla, Laing's Snorro, I. 346.

[2] Snorro, I. 365.

[3] Saxo-Grammaticus, Lib. X. p. 183. Snorro, I. 413.

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A.D. 977.

A.D. 995.

Olaf Tryggvason.

Thangbrand's shield.

the people in Norway be baptized[1]." Hacon's crowning act of apostasy was the sacrifice of one of his sons in honour of Thor, in the great battle with the Jomsburg pirates. His rule was offensive and unpopular[2], and he was deposed in 995 by Olaf, the son of Tryggve, a petty prince, whom the oppressed Norsemen welcomed as their deliverer.

The history of the new king is a remarkable illustration of the times in which he lived, as the transition period between Odinism and Christianity. He is represented in the Sagas as one of the handsomest of men[3], excelling in all bodily exercises. He was, withal, a great traveller, and had visited not only England and the Hebrides, but Northern Germany, Greece, Russia, and Constantinople. In Germany he had become acquainted with a certain ecclesiastic of Bremen, named Thangbrand, a son of Willebald, count of Saxony. Thangbrand is described "as a tall man and strong, skilful of speech, a good clerk, and a good warrior, albeit a teacher of the faith; not provoking others, but once angered, and he would yield to no man in deeds or in words[4]." Olaf was attracted by a large shield which the martial ecclesiastic was wont to carry. On it was embossed in gold the figure of Christ on the Cross. Olaf asked the meaning of the symbol, and was told the story of Christ and of His death. Observing how greatly he was taken with it, Thangbrand offered him the shield as a present, which was gratefully accepted, and preserved with diligent care. The rude Viking carried it about with him wherever he went, and ascribed to it his deliverance from many dangers both by sea and land.

During one of his many piratical voyages, Olaf touched

[1] Snorro, I. 394.

[2] The great cause of his misfortunes, according to the Saga (Snorro, I. 424) was "that the time was come when heathen sacrifices and idolatrous worship were doomed to fall, and the holy faith and good customs to come in their place."

[3] Snorro, I. 397.

[4] See Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, II. 64. Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Iceland*, p. 77. Snorro, I. 441.

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at the Scilly Islands[1], where he heard of the fame of a great seer. Having made trial of his skill, he repaired to his cell, and asked him who he was, and whence he had this knowledge of the future. The man told him he was a hermit, and that the Christian's God revealed to him the secrets of the future. Thereupon Olaf resolved to be baptized with all his followers, and going thence to England, was confirmed by Elphege, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the Saxon king Ethelred. Repairing afterwards to Dublin[2], he married Gyda, sister of king Olaf Kvaran, and during his stay in Ireland received a visit from one of the Northern Vikings, who persuaded him to revisit his native land, and assured him that one of Harold Haarfager's race would be welcomed by the people. Adopting his advice, Olaf sailed to Norway, where he was welcomed as a deliverer from the oppressive cruelty of Hacon the Bad, and at a general Thing held at Drontheim was unanimously chosen to be king over the whole country, as Harold Haarfager had been.

A.D. 995. *Olaf in the Scilly Islands.*

A.D. 994.

Sails to Norway.

No sooner had Olaf strengthened himself on the throne than he resolved on the extermination of heathenism[3]. His long abode with his brother-in-law, king Olaf Kvaran, in Dublin, where he had been in constant intercourse with the Irish Christians, could not fail to have strengthened

Proclaimed king.

[1] Snorro, I. 397. Lappenberg, II. 158. Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, II. 360. Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 333, who however holds that the Isles where Olaf landed were "not the Scilly Isles near England, but the Skellig Isles on the S. W. coast of Ireland, on one of which there was at that time a celebrated abbey."

[2] Dublin was the central point of the real Norwegian power in Ireland, though the Ost-men also settled in considerable numbers at Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, and Cork. Worsae's *Danes*, p. 315. The Norwegians and Danes settled in Ireland, were soon converted from heathenism by Irish monks and priests, and through these converts, Christianity was communicated to many of their Scandinavian fellow-countrymen.

[3] His own fidelity to Christianity was, however, dubious enough, if we may believe Adam of Bremen: "Narrant quidam illum Christianum fuisse, quidam Christianitatis desertorem; omnes autem affirmant peritum auguriorum, servatorem sortium, et in avium prognosticis omnem spem suam posuisse. Quare etiam cognomen accepit, ut *Olaph Cracabben* diceretur." II. 38.

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A.D. 995–997.

him in this determination. The means he resorted to were such as might have been expected from a Northern Viking, with an ecclesiastic like Thangbrand at his side. He began by destroying the heathen idols and temples, wherever it was practicable, and then, summoning his relatives, "he would," he declared, "either bring it to pass that all Norway should be Christian, or die. I shall make you all great and mighty men in promoting this work, for I trust to you most as blood-relations and brothers-in-law." They agreeing to do as he desired, he made a public proclamation to all the people of Norway, declaring it to be his will and pleasure that Christianity should be adopted as the national faith. Those who had already pledged their assistance, straightway gave in their adhesion, and being very powerful and influential, speedily induced others to follow their example, till at last all the inhabitants of the Eastern part of Viken allowed themselves to be baptized. Proceeding thence to the Northern part of the same district, he invited every man to accept the new faith, and punished severely all who opposed him, killing some, mutilating others, and driving the rest into banishment[1].

Resolves to put down heathenism.

Successful in his own kingdom, and in that of his relative Harold Greenske, he next proceeded to Hordaland and Rogaland, summoned the people to a Thing, and proposed the same terms. Here, however, he encountered more active opposition. The bonders no sooner received the message-token for the Thing, than they assembled in great numbers and in arms, and selecting three men who were regarded as the best spokesmen, they bade them argue with the king, and answer him, and especially decline anything against the old customs, even if the king demanded it. "When the bonders came to the Thing," we read in the quaint and vivid language of the Saga, "and the Thing was formed, king Olaf rose, and at first

Opposition of the bonders.

[1] Snorro, I. 427.

spake good-humouredly to the people; but they observed he wanted them to accept Christianity with all his fine words; and in conclusion he let them know that those who should speak against him, and not submit to his proposal, must expect his displeasure and punishment and all the ill it was in his power to inflict. When he had ended his speech, one of the bonders stood up, who was considered the most eloquent, and who had been chosen as the first to reply to king Olaf. But when he would begin to speak, such a cough seized him, and such a difficulty of breathing, that he could not bring out a word, and was obliged to sit down again. Then another bonder stood up, resolved not to let an answer be wanting, although it had gone so ill with the former; but he became so confused, that he could not find a word to say, and all present set up a laughter, amid which the bonder sat down again. And now the third stood up to make a speech; but when he began, he became so hoarse and husky in his throat, that nobody could hear a word he said, and he also had to sit down again. There were now none of the bonders to speak against the king, and as nobody answered him, there was no opposition; and it came to this, that all agreed to what the king had proposed. Accordingly all the people were baptized before the Thing was dissolved[1]."

Compulsory baptism of the people.

Shortly afterwards, this Northern Mahomet summoned the bonders of the Fiord district, South Möre, and Raumsdal, and offered them two conditions, "either to accept Christianity, or to fight." Unable to cope with the forces the king had brought with him, they too made a virtue of necessity, and agreed to be baptized. Sailing next to Lade, in Drontheim, Olaf destroyed the temple, despoiled it of its ornaments and property, and amongst the rest, of the great gold ring, which the apostate Hacon had ordered to be made and caused to be hung in the door of the temple.

[1] Snorro, I. 429.

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Then at a Thing held in Viken, he denounced terrible penalties against all who dealt with evil spirits, or were addicted to sorcery and witchcraft. Summer came round, and Olaf, collecting a large army sailed Northwards to Nidaros, in the Drontheim district, where he summoned the people of eight districts round to a Thing. The bonders, however, changed the Thing-token into a war-token, and called together all men, free and unfree, to resist this reforming Jehu. Remembering how they had succeeded in forcing Hacon into some sort of submission, they interrupted Olaf's proposals by threatening him with violence. Perceiving that this time he was numerically weaker, Olaf feigned to give way, and expressed a desire to go to their temples, and see their customs, and decide which to hold by. A Midsummer sacrifice was fixed to take place at Mære, the site of an ancient temple in the Drontheim district, and thither all the great chiefs and bonders were invited to repair. As the day approached, Olaf ordered that a great feast should be prepared at Lade, at which the mead-cup went round freely. Next morning he ordered early mass to be sung before him, and then summoned a House-Thing, to which the bonders repaired. "We held a Thing at Froste," said he, "when they were all seated, and I proposed to the bonders that they should allow themselves to be baptized. But they invited me to offer sacrifices, as Hacon had done. So we agreed to meet at Mære, and make a great sacrifice. Now if I, along with you, shall turn again to making sacrifice, then will I make the greatest of sacrifices that are in use; and I will sacrifice men. But I will not select slaves or malefactors for this, but will take the greatest men only to be offered." Thereupon he nominated eleven principal chiefs, whom he proposed to sacrifice to the gods for peace and a fruitful season, and he ordered them to be seized forthwith.

Opposition at Nidaros.

So unexpected a proposal utterly confounded the bond-

ers, and they were fain to be baptized, and to remain as hostages until the arrival of their relatives. Having taken these precautions, Olaf set out for the great sacrifice at Mære. Here the whole heathen party had assembled in great force, determined to make the king comply with the national customs. Olaf proposed his usual terms, and the bonders demanded that he should offer sacrifice to the gods. Mindful of his former promise, Olaf then consented to go to their temple and watch the ceremonies, and entered it with a great number of his men. As the sacrifice proceeded, the king suddenly struck the image of Thor with his gold-inlaid axe, so that it rolled down at his feet, and at this signal his men struck down the rest of the images from their seats. Then coming forth, he proposed his usual conditions, and the bonders, after this manifest proof of the powerlessness of their deities, surrendered to his will, and gave hostages that they would remain true to Christianity, and "took baptism[1]."

Olaf destroys the image of Thor at Mære.

Shortly afterwards Olaf made him a great long ship, which he called the *Crane*, and sailed Northwards to Halogaland, imposing Christianity wherever he went. But at Godö Isle in Salten Fiord he encountered great opposition. There dwelt here, the Saga tells us, a chief of great power, but a great idolater, and very skilful in witchcraft, named Raud the Strong. Hearing that Olaf was coming, he went to meet him in his own great ship the *Dragon*. A fight ensued, in which Raud was vanquished, and forced to retreat to his island. Olaf followed, but when he reached Salten Fiord, which is more dreaded even than the famous Maelstrom, such a storm was raging that for a whole week he could not make the land. In this difficulty he applied for counsel to bishop Sigurd, who accompanied him on this occasion, and whom he had placed over

Raud the Strong.

Storm in Salten Fiord.

[1] Snorro, I. 440. For another instance, see Robertson's *Church History*, II. 450.

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the Drontheim district. Sigurd promised to try if "God would give him power to conquer these arts of the devil."

Bishop Sigurd incenses the "Crane."

Accordingly, arrayed in all his mass-robes, he went to the bows of the *Crane*, lit many tapers, kindled incense, set the crucifix at the stern, read the Evangelist, offered many prayers, and, finally, sprinkled the whole ship with holy water. Then, declaring that the charm could not fail to be efficacious, he bade Olaf row into the fiord. Thus encouraged, the king, followed by his other long ships, rowed boldly up the throat of the fiord, and so efficacious had been the bishop's prayers, that "the sea was curled about their keel-track like as in a calm, so quiet and still was the water; yet on each side of them the waves were lashing up so high that they hid the sight of the mountains." After a day and a night's rowing, Godö Isle was reached, and an attack immediately made on Raud, as he was sleeping[1]. After many of his servants had been murdered, the chief was dragged into the presence of Olaf. "I will not take thy property from thee," said the king, "but will rather be thy friend, if thou wilt make thyself worthy to be so, and be baptized." Raud exclaimed he would never believe in Christ, and made his scoff of God. Thereupon Olaf was wrath, and ordered him to be put to death amidst revolting tortures[2], and having carried off all his effects and his fine dragon-ship, he made all his men receive baptism, and imposed Christianity on all the people of the Fiord, and then returned Southward to Nidaros.

Thus did Olaf "bend his whole mind" to uprooting heathenism and old customs, which he deemed contrary to Christianity. Iceland, also, did not escape his attentions. He had sent Thangbrand thither[3] on account of his misdeeds,

A.D. 997.

[1] Snorro, I. 448.

[2] According to the Saga, a serpent was forced down his throat, which ate its way through his body (!) and caused his death. Snorro, I. 448.

[3] Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. xci. Snorro, I. 450. Discovered in the year A.D. 861, Iceland was colonized by the Norwegians in 874. Even

t over to the Faith. But that rough ecclesiastic no easy matter. Some of the chiefs submitted ı, while others not only refused but composed upon him, whereupon Thangbrand slew two ıutright. About this time some of the Icelandic l a visit to Nidaros, and staid there during the here they encountered Olaf, and were obliged, inst their will, to answer him many questions land. The following Michaelmas the king had ı celebrated with great splendour, and the Ice- me, and listened to the singing and the sound of and on the following day were baptized and th much kindness. At this juncture Thangbrand and informed the king of his ill success, and how ders made lampoons upon him, and threatened to Olaf was so enraged that he ordered a horn to , and all the Icelanders in Nidaros to be sum- ıd would have put them all to death, had not one eminded him of his promise to forgive all who ım heathenism and became Christians, and de- ıt Thangbrand's ill success was the result of his ıce and bloodshed. It was owing to the influence

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A.D. 997.

Attempts to christianize Iceland.

Thangbrand's violence.

ly period traces were ılder Christianity which anted in the island by able Irish missionaries, he name of *Papar*, were ı Orkney, Shetland, and ls, and left behind them s, and Irish books. But a flickering spark, and tinguished. No efforts towards rekindling it 981, when a native, wald, brought into the ın bishop named Fred- hom he had been con- possibly, belonged to scopal Church at Ham- utpost Charlemagne se- ıese Northern missions. His success was confined to building a church, and baptizing a few prose- lytes, but many refused the rite, from unwillingness to wear the white robes used by the neophytes, and worn in Iceland by none but chil- dren. One chief proposed that the rite should be administered to his aged father-in-law, and as it did not save him from death soon after, he put off his own baptism for some years. In 986, the bishop and Thorwald were expelled, and took refuge in Norway. F. Johannæus, *Hist. Eccles. Islandiæ*, Dicuili *Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ*, Paris, 1807, I. 47. Döllinger, III. 19. Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. vii. Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, 382.

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of these Icelandic chiefs on their return, that the Lawman Thorgeir proposed to the Icelandic national council that Christianity should be introduced, which resolution was supplemented afterwards by another, that all the islanders should be baptized, the temples destroyed, and at least the public ceremonies of paganism abolished[1].

A.D. 1000.

In the same year, however, that this resolution was passed in Iceland, Olaf's violent efforts to uproot heathenism in Norway were brought to a close. Worsted in a tremendous engagement with the united forces of Denmark and Sweden, rather than yield to his enemies, he flung himself from the deck of Raud's ship into the sea, and sank beneath the waters[2]. He was the type of a northern Viking. The Sagas delight to record instances of his strength and agility, how he climbed the Smalsor Horn, an inaccessible peak of a mountain in Bremager, and fixed his shield upon it; how he could run across the oars of the *Serpent*, while his men were rowing; how he could cast two spears at once, and strike and cut equally with both hands. In private life, they tell us, he was gay, social, and generous; and though, when enraged, he was distinguished for cruelty, "burning some of his enemies, tearing others to pieces by mad dogs, and mutilating or casting down others from high precipices," yet he was as dear to his subjects as Ivan the Terrible[3] to

Olaf falls in battle.

[1] June 24. A.D. 1000. Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, I. xcii. Snorro, I. 465. Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Iceland*, p. 79. *Quarterly Review*, No. 221. It was at this Thing that Snorri made his famous speech: "Then came a man running, and said that a stream of lava (earth fire) had burst out at Ölfus, and would run over the homestead of Thorod the priest. Then the heathen men began to say, 'No wonder that the gods are wrath at such speeches as we have heard.' Then Snorri the priest spoke and said, 'At what, then, were the gods wrath, when this lava was molten, and ran over the spot on which we now stand?'" *Burnt Njal*, I. xci. *n.*

[2] Snorro, I. 490. Adam Brem. II. 38.

[3] Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, pp. 325, 6. "The epithet which we render 'Terrible,'" remarks Stanley, "in the original rather expresses the idea of 'Awful,' the feeling with which the Athenians would have regarded, not Periander or Dionysius, but the Eumenides. His memory still lives among the peasants as of one who was a *Czar indeed*."

the Russian people of Moscow; nay, many of them are said to have died of grief for him, and after his death exalted him to the dignity of a saint[1].

During the fifteen years which succeeded the death of Olaf, Christianity made but slow progress in Norway, though its followers were not persecuted by the sons of Earl Hacon, whom the conquerors at the great battle of Svöldr had set over the country. At length, about the year 1015, a descendant of Harold Haarfager, Olaf Haraldson, better known as Olaf the Saint, gathered a party, put an end to the domination of the Swedes and Danes in Norway, and became Over-king. His youth had been spent in piratical expeditions, and he had shared in the invasions of England. Seated on the throne, he invited a considerable number of clergy from that country[2], at whose head was bishop Grimkil, who composed a system of ecclesiastical law for the Norsemen. Olaf also wrote to the archbishop of Bremen, and requested his aid in evangelizing his people. His own measures savoured too much of the example set by Olaf Tryggvason. Accompanied by bishop Grimkil, "the horned man," as the people called him from the shape of his mitre, he made frequent journeys through his kingdom, summoned the

A.D. 1015. *Accession of Olaf Haraldson.*

[1] On the legend of his re-appearance as an Egyptian abbot, see the quotation from Münter, in Robertson's *Ch. History*, II. 451.

[2] "Habuit secum multos episcopos et presbyteros ab Anglia, quorum monitu et doctrina ipse cor suum Deo præparavit, subjectumque populum illis ad regendum commisit. Quorum clari doctrina et virtutibus erant Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rudolf et Bernard." Adam Brem. II. 55. Geijer's *History of the Swedes*, p. 37. "The English missionaries, with Scandinavian names," remarks Worsae (p. 135), who went over to Scandinavia in the tenth century, for the purpose of converting the heathens, were, as their names show, of Danish origin, and undoubtedly natives of the Danish part of England. Sprung from Scandinavian families, which, though settled in a foreign land, could scarcely have so soon forgotten their mother tongue, or the customs which they had inherited, they could enter with greater safety than other priests on their dangerous proselytizing travels in the heathen North; where, also, from their familiarity with the Scandinavian language, they were manifestly best suited successfully to prepare the entrance of Christianity." See also Lappenberg, II. 204.

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A.D. 1015—1030. *His violent efforts to expel heathenism.*

Things, and read the laws which commanded the observance of Christianity; all who refused to obey them he threatened with confiscation of property, maiming of the body, or death. Having discovered that the old heathen sacrifices were still secretly offered in divers places, he determined to ascertain the truth of these reports. Summoning his bailiff in the Drontheim district, he desired to know whether the proscribed rites were still celebrated there. Under a promise of personal security, the man confessed that the old autumn, winter, and summer sacrifices were still secretly offered, and presided over by twelve of the principal bonders. Thereupon Olaf equipped a fleet of five vessels and three hundred men, and sailed for Mærefiord, where, in the middle of the night, he surprised the guilty parties, put their leader to death, and divided their property amongst his men-at-arms. Then, having taken many of the chief bonders as hostages, he summoned a Thing, and obliged the people to submit to the erection of several churches, and the location amongst them of several clergy[1].

Summons a Thing in the Uplands.

Proceeding afterwards to the Uplands, he summoned a Thing for the districts of Loar and Hedal, and made his usual requisition. Not far from Loar dwelt a powerful chief named Gudbrand, who hearing of Olaf's arrival, sent a message-token calling together the peasantry far and wide, to resist these encroachments on the national faith. "This Olaf," said he in the Thing, "will force upon us another faith, and will break in pieces all our gods. He says he has a much greater and more powerful god; and it is wonderful that the earth does not burst asunder beneath him, or that our god lets him go about unpunished when he dares to talk such things. I know this for certain, that if we carry Thor, who has always stood by us, out of our temple that is standing on this

Opposition of Duke Gudbrand.

[1] Snorro, II. 152.

farm, Olaf's god will melt away, and he and his men be made nothing, so soon as Thor looks upon them." The bonders shouted applause, and Gudbrand's son was directed to repair Northwards to Breeden, and watch the movements of Olaf, who, with bishop Sigurd, was busy in fixing teachers in various places. Hearing rumours of opposition, Olaf hurried to Breeden, and in a battle which ensued utterly routed the rude peasantry, and captured Gudbrand's son, whom he sent to his father with the news of his own speedy approach. Gudbrand, in his alarm, consulted the neighbouring chiefs, and it was resolved to send an embassy to Olaf to propose that a Thing should be summoned to decide whether there was any truth in this "new teaching," during which a strict truce should be maintained on both sides. Olaf consented, and the bonders met to decide the question between the rival Creeds. The king rose first, and informed the assembly how the people of the neighbouring districts had received Christianity, broken down their houses of sacrifice, and now believed in the true God, "who made heaven and earth, and knows all things." "And where is thy god?" asked Gudbrand. "Neither thou nor any one else can see Him. We have a god who can be seen day by day. He is not here, indeed, to-day, because the weather is wet; but he will appear to thee, and I expect fear will mix with thy very blood when he comes into the Thing. But since, as thou sayest, thy god is so great, let him send us to-morrow a cloudy day, without rain, and then let us meet again[1]."

Proposition to bring the image of Thor into the camp.

A Thing summoned to decide between the rival creeds.

His counsel was taken, and Olaf returned to his lodging accompanied by Gudbrand's son, whom he retained as a hostage. As the evening drew on, the king inquired of the youth, what the god was like of which his father had spoken. Thereupon he learnt that the image was one of

Description of the image of Thor.

[1] Snorro, II. 157.

CHAP XII. A.D. 1015—1030.

Thor, that he held a hammer in his hand, was of great size, but hollow within, that he lacked neither gold nor silver about him, and every day received four cakes of bread, besides meat. While the rest retired to bed, the king spent the night in prayer, and in the morning rose, heard mass, and after service proceeded to the Thing, the weather being such as Gudbrand had desired. The first speaker was bishop Sigurd, who, arrayed in all his robes, with his mitre on his head, and his pastoral staff in his hand, spake to the bonders about the true faith, and the wonderful works of God. To which one of the bonders replied, "Many things are we told of by this horned man with the staff in his hand crooked at the top like a ram's horn; but since ye say, comrades, that your god is so powerful, and can do so many wonders, tell him to make it clear sunshine to-morrow forenoon, and then we shall meet here again, and do one of two things,—either agree with you about this business, or fight you." And then they separated.

Olaf prepares for the Thing.

One of the king's retinue was Kolbein the Strong, a chief of high birth, who usually carried, besides his sword, a great club. Olaf begged him to keep close to him next morning, and meanwhile sent men to bore holes in the bonders' ships, and loose their horses on the farms. This done, he again spent the night in prayer, and in the grey of the morning, as soon as he had heard mass, proceeded to the Thing-field, he and his party ranging themselves on one side, Gudbrand and his faction on the other. Soon a great crowd appeared carrying "a great man's image" glittering all over with gold and silver. The bonders rose, says the Saga, and did obeisance to the "ugly idol," while Gudbrand cried aloud to the king, "Where is now thy god? I think neither thou nor that horned man yonder will lift your heads so high as in former days. See how our idol looks upon you." Olaf,

The image of Thor brought into the Thing.

thereupon, whispered to Kolbein, "If, while I am speaking the bonders look elsewhere than towards their idol, see that thou strike him as hard as thou canst with thy club," and then turning to the bonders, he said, "Dale Gudbrand would frighten us with his god that can neither hear, nor see, nor save himself, nor even move without being carried. Ye say our god is invisible; but turn your eyes to the East, and see Him advancing in great splendour[1]." At that moment the sun rose, and all turned to look. Kolbein was duly on the alert, and immediately struck the image with all his might, so that it burst asunder and disclosed a number of mice and other vermin which had hitherto fattened on the sacrifices offered to it. The bonders, terrified at this unexpected result, fled in alarm to their ships, which soon filled with water, while others ran for their horses, and could not find them. Retreat being thus cut off, they returned once more to the Thing-field. "I cannot understand," said Olaf when they were seated, "what this noise and uproar means. There is the idol, which ye adorned with gold and silver, and supplied with meat and provisions. Ye see for yourselves what he can do for you, and for all who trust to such folly. Take now your gold and ornaments that are lying strewn about on the grass, and give them to your wives and daughters; but never hang them hereafter upon stock or stone. Here are now two conditions between us to choose upon,—either accept Christianity, or fight this very day; and the victory be to them to whom the god we worship gives it." Even Gudbrand could do nothing. "Our god," he said to the king, "will not help us, so we will believe in the God thou believest in," and he and all present were baptized, and received the teachers whom Olaf and bishop Sigurd set over them, and Gudbrand himself built a church in the valley[2].

The image destroyed.

[1] Snorro, II. 160.

[2] Snorro, II. 161.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1015—1030. *Similar efforts made to put down heathenism in Greenland and the Orkneys.*

This story, told with all the quaint vividness of the Saga, illustrates sufficiently the contest which was now going on throughout the length and breadth of the land between Christianity and expiring Odinism. Wherever Olaf went, accompanied by his bishops, much the same scene was enacted. Extending his care to Greenland, the Orkneys, and Iceland, he sent to the latter a quantity of timber for building a church, and a bell to be suspended in it; he also endeavoured to introduce Grimkil's ecclesiastical laws[1]. The example which he himself set to his subjects was more satisfactory than that of either of his predecessors. He was exemplary in observing the ordinances of religion. It was his custom, the Saga tells us, to rise betimes in the morning, put on his clothes, wash his hands, and then go to church and hear matins. Thereafter he went to the Thing-meeting, to arrange quarrels, or amend the laws, and settled all matters of religion in concert with bishop Grimkil and other learned priests. The impartial severity with which he administered the laws, punishing equally both great and small, was one of the chief causes of the rebellion against his rule, which broke out about

A.D. 1026. the year 1026, and was greatly fomented by Canute, king of Denmark, who sowed disaffection amongst the chiefs[2].

Olaf retires to Russia. At last, Olaf determined to leave his kingdom, and fled to Russia, where he was honourably received by Yaroslaff, and requested to settle in the country. But while doubting between accepting the offer of a province and undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Olaf Tryggvason is said to have appeared to him in vision, and bade him return to Norway, and reclaim his kingdom. Olaf therefore set out, and sailed to Sweden, where the king Onund, his brother-in-law, welcomed him, and aided him in his plans for re-

[1] Snorro, II. 186. The first Icelandic bishop, consecrated by Adelbert of Bremen, was placed at Skaalholt, in 1056, a second at Hollum, in 1107. Adam Brem. *Descr. Insul.* c. 35. Wiltsch's *Church Geog.* I. 419.

[2] Adam Brem. II. 59. Lappenberg, II. 218.

CHAP. XII.

covering Norway. He no sooner appeared in the latter country than multitudes flocked to his standard, but he rejected all who did not comply with the one condition of service—, the reception of baptism. The helmets and shields of all who fought on his side were distinguished by a white Cross, and on the eve of battle, Olaf directed many marks of silver to be given for the souls of his enemies, who should fall in the battle, esteeming the salvation of his own men already secured. He also directed that the war-shout should be "Forward, Christ's-men! Cross-men! King's-men." The battle was hot and bloody, and Olaf was defeated and slain. After his death, his people repented of their rebellion. They found that if Olaf had "chastised them with whips," the new ruler, Swend, son of Canute, would "chastise them with scorpions," and they groaned under the taxes now imposed upon them. Meanwhile it began to be whispered that Olaf was a holy man, and had worked miracles, and many began to put up prayers to him as a powerful saint, and to invoke his aid in dangers and difficulties. News of this reached the ears of bishop Grimkil, who, during Olaf's absence in Russia, had remained in Norway[1]. He came to Nidaros, and obtained leave from Swend to exhume the body of the departed king. On opening the coffin, the Saga tells us there "was a delightful and fresh smell, the king's face had undergone no change, but his hair and nails had grown as though he had been alive." Alfifa, Swend's mother, remarked sneeringly that "people buried in sand rot very slowly, and it would not have been so if he had been buried in earth." Grimkil bade her notice his hair and beard. "I will believe in the sanctity of his hair," replied Alfifa, "if it will not burn in the fire." Thereupon the bishop put live coals in a pan, blessed it, cast incense on it, and then laid

A.D. 1026. *Attempts to recover his kingdom.*

A.D. 1030. *Defeated and slain.*

Regarded as a saint.

His body exhumed.

[1] Snorro, II. 347.

CHAP. XII.

A.D. 1030.

thereon king Olaf's hair. The incense burnt, but the hair remained unsinged. Alfifa proposed it should be laid on unconsecrated fire. But her unbelief shocked the bystanders; bishop, and king, and assembled Thing, all agreed that Olaf should be regarded as a man "truly holy." His body was, therefore, removed to St Clement's church[1], which he himself had built at Nidaros, and enclosed in a shrine mounted with gold and silver, and studded with jewels[2]. And so Olaf became patron saint of Norway, pilgrims flocked to his tomb[3], and churches were dedicated to his name, not only in his native land, but in England and Ireland, and even in distant Constantinople[4].

Removed to St Clement's church.

A.D. 1030.

Olaf's history a sign of the times.

The story of Olaf the Saint may be taken as a sign of the change which was now coming over the Norseman. He was beginning to lay aside his old habits of lawless piracy, and to respect civilized institutions; the Viking was gradually settling down into the peaceful citizen[5]. Expeditions to Christian lands, intermixture with the populations, admission to ecclesiastical offices[6], had gradually brought about very different feelings towards Christian institutions, than those entertained by the Vikings of the eighth and ninth centuries. We are not surprised, then, that when Canute had seated himself on the throne of England, and had espoused an English consort, he not only

[1] St Clement was the seaman's patron saint. See Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 17.

[2] Snorro, II. 350. Adam Brem. II. 59. "St Olave's church and Tooley Street (in London) are very remarkable memorials of the conversion of the Scandinavians on English soil." Pauli's *England*, p. 412.

[3] "Ad cujus tumbam usque in hodiernum diem maxima Dominus operatur sanitatum miracula, ita ut a longinquis illic regionibus confluant ii qui se meritis sancti non desperant juvari." Adam Brem. *Descr. Insul.* 32.

[4] Worsae's *Danes and Northmen*, p. 18. It was not till the following period that the Norwegian sees of Nidaros, Opolo, Bergen, Hammer, and Stevanger were founded.

[5] Christianity certainly put an end to the life of the Viking. "Sohäner" (sea-cocks) were no longer to be found, "who scorned to sleep by the corner of the hearth, or under sooty beams." Worsae, p. 112.

[6] During the tenth century three archbishops of Danish family presided over the English Church. On the Danish clergy, see Worsae, p. 134—138.

promulgated severe laws against heathenism[1], and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, but dispatched missionaries to evangelize his Scandinavian subjects, and strengthen the cause of Christianity throughout the North. His influence in Denmark, combined with that of Olaf the Lap-king in Sweden, had an important influence on the progress of the Scandinavian churches[2]. Schools and monasteries now gradually rose, bishoprics were founded, the rude Runic characters retired before the Latin alphabet, agriculture was encouraged by the Benedictine monks, and new kinds of corn were planted, mills were built, mines were opened, and before these civilizing agencies[3] Odinism retired more and more from a useless contest, as surely as Brahmanism in India is yielding before European science and European literature, before the telegraph and the railway, the book and the newspaper.

A.D. 1030.

Canute's legislation.

Gradual civilization of the North.

[1] Lappenberg, II. 204. Canute bestowed Danish bishoprics on English ecclesiastics; Scania on Bernhard, Fionia on Reinhere, Seeland on Gerbrand. Turner's *A.-Saxons*, III. 137. Spelman's *Concilia*, 553. Amongst the objects of worship forbidden are—the sun, the moon, fire and flood, fountains and stones, trees and logs: also witchcraft, framing death-spells, either by lot or by torch, or phantoms.

[2] Adam Brem. II. 38, 40, 44.

[3] In 1075, the public services in honour of Thor and Odin were absolutely interdicted in Sweden. In 1056 the see of Skaalholt was erected in Iceland, and in 1107 that of Hollum. For a striking picture of the Icelanders under the new regime, see Adam Brem. *Descrip. Insul.* 35. "Episcopum suum habent pro rege: ad illius nutum respicit omnis populus, quicquid ex Deo, ex Scripturis, ex consuetudine aliorum gentium ille constituit, hoc pro lege habent." From Iceland Christianity was wafted to the dreary shores of Greenland, whither, in 986, Eric the Red led out a colony that flourished vigorously for several centuries (Snorro, III. 143): a bishop was consecrated for Greenland in 1015, and he presided over 13 churches in the Eastern part of the country, 4 in the Western, and 3 or 4 monasteries. Sixteen bishops in succession ruled over the Greenland Church, attended synods in Norway as well as Iceland, and were subject to the archbishop of Nidaros. The seventeenth bishop was unable to land owing to the accumulation of ice on the shore, and from the year 1408, the Church of Greenland disappears. The population, decimated by the "Black Death," (Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, p. 28), fell a prey to the Esquimaux. On the tradition of an Irish missionary who crossed over from Greenland into North America, and died a martyr, see Münter, I. 561. Hardwick, 119.

CHAPTER XIII.

MISSIONS AMONG THE SLAVIC OR SLAVONIAN RACES.

A.D. 800—1000.

"Literas denique Slavonicas a Constantino quodam philosopho repertas, quibus Deo laudes debite resonant, jure laudamus, et in eadem linguâ Christi Domini nostri præconia ut enarrentur et opera jubemus."

CHAP. XIII.

The Slavonian family.

LET us now turn from the blue fiords and pine-forests of Scandinavia to the great Slavonian family of nations, whose wide territory extended Eastward from the Elbe to the sluggish waters of the Don, and from the Baltic on the North to the Adriatic on the South. While for three centuries the Teutonic tribes had been yielding to the influences of Christianity, scarcely any impression had been made on the vast population which clustered together on either side of the Danube, and thence spread onwards into the very heart of the modern Russian empire[1]. "They were still rude, warlike, and chiefly pastoral tribes," says Milman of one portion of this great family, "inaccessible alike to the civilization and the religion of Rome. The Eastern empire had neither a Charlemagne to compel by force of arms, nor zealous monkish missionaries[2], like those of Germany, to penetrate the vast plains and spreading morasses of the

[1] Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, p. 7.

[2] For some remarks on the non-missionary character of the Eastern Church, see Stanley's *Eastern Church*, 34.

rebarbarised province on either side of the Danube; to found abbacies and bishoprics, to cultivate the soil, and reclaim the people[1]." CHAP. XIII.

(i.) With the death, however, of the great apostle of Sweden synchronizes one of the earliest missionary efforts made amongst any portion of this great family. A map of Europe in the sixth century discloses to us the Bulgarians seated along the Western shore of the Euxine, between the Danube and the Dnieper. About the year 680 they had moved in a southerly direction into the territory known in ancient times, as Macedonia and Epirus. Here they bestowed their names on the Slavonians, whom they conquered, gradually adopted their language and manners, and by intermarriage became entirely identified with them[2]. Unable to return either in a Northerly or Westerly direction, in consequence of the formidable barrier which the irruption of more powerful nations had interposed in their rear, they extended their conquests to the South of the Danube, and became involved in continual struggles with the Greek emperors. In the year 811 the Emperor Nicephorus advanced into the centre of their kingdom, and burnt their sovereign's palace. The insult was terribly avenged. Three days after his disastrous success, he was himself surrounded by the collected hordes of his barbarous foes, and fell ignominiously with the great officers of the empire. His head was exposed on a spear, and the savage warriors, true to the traditions of their Scythian wilderness, fashioned his skull into a drinking-cup, enchased it with gold, and used it at the celebrations of their victories[3]. But these border-wars were destined to produce more beneficent results. In the early part of the ninth century, when Theodora was Empress of Byzantium, a monk named Cupharas

1. *Bulgaria.*

A.D. 680.

Continued wars with the Greek Emperors.

[1] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 419.

[2] Gibbon, VII. 65, *n.* (ed. Smith). Krasinski's *Lectures on Slavonia*, p. 35, *n.*

[3] Gibbon, VII. 67.

CHAP. XIII. fell into the hands of the Bulgarian prince Bogoris[1]. At the same time, a sister of the prince was in captivity at Constantinople, and it was proposed by the Empress that the two captives should be exchanged. During the period of her captivity the princess had adopted the Christian faith, and on her return she laboured diligently to deepen in her brother's mind the impression which had already been made by the captive monk. Like Clovis, the prince long remained unmoved by her entreaties. At length a famine, during which he had vainly appealed to his native deities, induced him to have recourse to the God of his sister. The result was such as he desired, and he was baptized by Photius the patriarch of Constantinople, the Emperor himself standing sponsor by proxy, and the Bulgarian prince adopting his name[2]. A short time afterwards the prince requested the Emperor to send him a painter for the decoration of his palace. A monk, named Methodius, was accordingly sent, and was desired by Bogoris to adorn his hall with paintings representing the perils of hunting. As he appeared anxious for terrible subjects[3], the monk employed himself in painting the scene of the "Last Judgment," and so awful was the representation of the fate of obstinate heathens, that, not only, was Bogoris himself induced to put away the idols he had till now retained, but even many of the court were so moved by the sight, as to desire admission into the Christian Church. So averse, however, was the great bulk of the nation to the conversion of their chief, that his baptism, which was celebrated at midnight, was kept a profound secret, the disclosure of which was the signal for a formidable rebellion in favour of the national gods, and Bogoris could only put it down by resorting to the severest measures. Photius had given to the prince at his baptism, a long letter, or rather a treatise on Christian doctrine and practice, as also on the

A.D. 860. *Bogoris and the monk Cupharas.*

Bogoris baptized by Photius.

A.D. 861—864.

Methodius' picture of the Last Judgment.

[1] Cedreni *Annales*, p. 443. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

duties of a sovereign. But its language was far too refined for his comprehension, and his difficulties were further increased by the arrival of missionaries, Greek, Roman, and Armenian, who all sought his union with their respective Churches, and all propounded different doctrines. Thus perplexed by their rival claims, and unwilling to involve himself in more intimate relations with the Byzantine court, Bogoris turned to the West for aid, and made an application to Louis II. of Germany, and, at the same time, to Nicolas the Pope, requesting from both assistance in the conversion of his subjects, and from the latter, more intelligible advice than he had received from the patriarch of Constantinople.

CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 863. *Bogoris visited by missionaries from various churches.*

Applies to Pope Nicolas for advice.

The Pope replied by sending into Bulgaria Paul, bishop of Populonia, and Formosus bishop of Portus, with Bibles and other books[1]. At the same time he also sent a long letter treating of the various subjects on which Bogoris had requested advice, under one hundred and six heads. Respecting the conversion of his subjects, he advised the Bulgarian chief to abjure all violent methods, and to appeal to the weapons of reason only; apostates, however, ought to meet with no toleration, if they persisted in refusing obedience to the monitions of their spiritual fathers. As to objects of idolatrous worship, they ought not to be treated with violence, but the company of idolaters ought to be avoided, while the Cross, he suggested, might well take the place of the horse-tail as the national standard. All recourse to divination, charms, and other superstitious practices, ought to be carefully abolished, as also polygamy, and marriage within the prohibited degrees, and the spiritual relationship contracted at the font ought to be esteemed equally close with that of blood. As to prayer for their forefathers, who had died in unbelief, in respect

A.D. 863. *Reply of the Pope.*

[1] See Jaffé's *Rejesta Pont. Rom.* Neander, v. 426.

CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 866.

to which the simple prince had requested advice, "such a vain mark of filial affection could not be allowed for a moment." With these precepts bearing on their spiritual welfare, were mingled others designed to soften and civilize their savage manners. The Pope exhorted them to greater gentleness in the treatment of their slaves, and protested against their barbarous code of laws, their use of the rack in the case of suspected criminals, and their too frequent employment of capital punishment. Finally, as to the request of the prince that a patriarch might be sent him, the Pope could not take such an important step till he had more accurate information as to the numbers of the Bulgarian Church; meanwhile he sent a bishop, who should be followed by others, if it was found necessary, and as soon as the Church was organized, one with the title of archbishop or patriarch was promised.

A.D. 867.

Jealousy of the Eastern Church.

This intervention, however, of the Western Church was no sooner announced at Constantinople, than it stirred to a still greater heat the flames of jealousy which had already been kindled between the two Churches. Nicolas claimed the Bulgarians, because their country had always been included within the boundaries of the Roman empire; Photius claimed them, as having baptized their prince, and introduced amongst them the germs of Christian civilization. He proceeded even to summon a council at Constantinople, and, in a circular epistle to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, denounced the unwarranted intrusion of the Pope, enumerated the various errors of the adherents of the Western Church, their peculiar usages in respect to fasting, the celibacy of their clergy, the second unction, the heretical addition to their creed, and all other points whereon the Churches differed. Recriminations on the one side were met by recriminations on the other. Hincmar of Rheims, Odo bishop of Beauvais, Æneas of Paris, Ratramn of Corbie, composed treatises in

Circular Epistle of Photius.

reply to the charges of Photius, and in defence of the purity of the Roman see. The Bulgarians meanwhile, who had raised this theological tempest, again began to waver as to the quarter whence they would receive their creed. At length, in spite of the solemn warnings of Pope John VIII. as to the danger they would inevitably incur by connecting themselves with the Greeks, who were "always involved in some heresy or other," they united themselves more closely with the Byzantine patriarchate, and a Greek archbishop, with Greek bishops, chosen from among the monks, were admitted into the country, and exerted supremacy over the Bulgarian Church. The reception of Christianity in Bulgaria paved the way for its admission in other quarters. The Chazars of the Crimea, the Slavic tribes in the interior of Hellas, the Servians, who extended from the Danube to the Adriatic, and other tribes, were more or less affected by Christian influences, though in several cases, they were weakened by the equally zealous efforts of Jewish and Mussulman propagandists.

CHAP. XIII. A.D. 867.

The Bulgarians unite with the Byzantine patriarchate.

(ii.) But a more important portion of the South-Slavonic area was now to be added to the Church. In the early part of the ninth century the kingdom of Moravia comprised a considerable territory, extending from the frontiers of Bavaria to the river Drina, and from the banks of the Danube, beyond the Carpathian mountains, to the river Styri in southern Poland. Falling within the ever-widening circle of the empire of Charlemagne, it had acknowledged him and his son Louis as its suzerains. According to the settled policy of these princes, the conquered territory had received a compulsory form of Christianity, and a regionary bishop had endeavoured, under the auspices of the archbishop of Passau, to bring about the conversion of the people. But these efforts had been productive of very partial results. Foreign priests unacquainted with the Slavonic language were not likely to attract many to

ii. *Moravia.*

Early efforts of Charlemagne and Louis-le-Débonnaire.

CHAP. XIII. their Latin services, or to prevent the great bulk of the people relapsing into heathenism.

A.D. 863. *Rostislav applies to the Greek Emperor for Christian teachers.*

But in the year 863 Moravia made great efforts to recover its independence, and Rostislav, its ruler, requested the Greek Emperor Michael to send him learned men, who might translate the Scriptures into the Slavonic tongue, and arrange the public worship upon a definite basis. "Our land is baptized," ran the message, "but we have no teachers to instruct us, and translate for us the sacred books. We do not understand either the Greek or the Latin language. Some teach us one thing, some another; therefore we do not understand the meaning of the Scriptures, neither their import. Send us teachers who may explain to us the Scriptures, and their meaning." When the Emperor Michael heard this, he called together his philosophers, and told them the message of the Slavonic princes; and the philosophers said, "There is at Thessalonica a man named Leon: he has two sons, who both know well the Slavonic language, and are both clever philosophers." On hearing this, the Emperor sent to Thessalonica to Leon, saying, "Send to us thy sons Methodius and Constantine[1]; which hearing, Leon straightway sent them; and when they came to the Emperor, he said to them, 'The Slavonic lands have sent to me, requesting teachers that may translate for them the Holy Scriptures.' And, being persuaded by the Emperor, they went into the Slavonic land, to Rostislav, to Sviatopolk, and to Kotzel; and having arrived, they began to compose a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; and the Slavonians rejoiced, hearing the greatness of God in their own language; after which they translated the Psalter, and the other books[2]." In the composition of this alphabet these eminent missionaries made

Arrival of Methodius and Constantine.

They compose a Slavonic alphabet,

[1] *Vita S. Constantini* (Cyrilli), by a contemporary, *Acta SS.* March 2.

[2] Nestor's *Annals*, quoted in Krasinski's *Lectures*, p. 36.

use of Greek letters, with the addition of certain other characters, partly Armenian and Hebrew, and partly of their own invention, the total number amounting to forty[1]. This innovation on the methods employed by Western ecclesiastics was blessed with signal success, many of the people were converted, and several churches were erected. For four years and a half their work went on in peace. But, in the meantime, they were regarded with no friendly feelings by the German clergy, and their introduction of a Slavonic alphabet was looked upon as little short of heresy. Intelligence of their strange proceedings reached the ears of Pope Nicolas, who summoned Cyril and Methodius to Rome. On their first arrival in Moravia, they had brought with them a body supposed to be that of St Clement of Rome, which Cyril boasted to have found on the shores of the Tauric Chersonese, whither Clement had been banished by Trajan. With this sacred relic they repaired to Rome, and its production produced no little sensation. Admitted to an audience with Adrian, they recounted the method of their proceedings, and offered their creed for examination. Adrian pronounced himself satisfied, and Methodius was appointed Metropolitan of Moravia and Pannonia, but without any fixed see.

CHAP. XIII.

A.D. 863. *and translate portions of the Scriptures.*

Opposition of the German Clergy.

A.D. 868.

The Missionaries summoned to Rome.

Thus armed with the approval of the sovereign Pontiff of the West, Methodius[2] returned to the scene of his labours, and achieved still greater success. But political troubles soon arose. Rostislav was betrayed by his nephew into the hands of Louis of Germany, dethroned, and blinded. Deprived of the protection of his patron, Methodius was constrained to retire from his dangerous post. The suspicions aroused by his Slavonic Bible and Liturgy

Methodius returns to Moravia.

A.D. 870.

[1] On the vexed question of the Slavonic alphabet, see Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, 10, *n.*

[2] Cyril would seem to have died at Rome, or, according to another account, to have retired to a convent. Gieseler, II. I. 253.

CHAP. XIII. followed him into his retreat in Pannonia, and rendered necessary a second journey to Rome to defend himself before Pope John VIII. From this Pontiff, after much discussion, he succeeded in obtaining a qualified approval of his Slavonic alphabet and Liturgy. It is said that the Pontiff's scruples were removed by remembering the verse in the Psalms "*Praise the Lord, all ye nations.*" This verse appeared to him to be decisive. It could hardly mean that the Creator's praise was to be restricted to three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He who formed these languages must have formed others for His own glory. One condition, however, was annexed to this concession. The Mass must be celebrated in one at least of the languages of the Church, either Greek or Latin[1]. Once more, then, Methodius returned to the Moravian mission-field, and, in spite of much opposition, maintained firmly the great principle that the language of each separate nation is not to give place, in public worship, to a sacred language peculiar to the clergy, but is itself adapted for public instruction and private reading. But, after his death[2], the opposition of the German clergy deepened into persecution, and many of the Greek Slavonic clergy were driven out of Moravia. Before long, invaded by the pagan Magyars, or Hungarians[3], Moravia ceased to exist, as an independent state, and on the restoration of order, was united to the kingdom of Bohemia.

[1] Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, 12, n. "Jubemus ut in omnibus Ecclesiis propter majorem horrorificentiam evangelium Latine legatur, et post, Slavonica lingua translatum in auribus populi Latina verba non intelligentis annuncietur, sicut in quibusdam ecclesiis fieri videtur."

[2] Which appears to have taken place about the year 885.

[3] The ravages of this people presented, at this period, one of the most serious obstacles to the spread and establishment of Christianity. More terrible than the Saracen, or the Northern viking, inexhaustible in number, superior to all the Scythian hordes in military prowess, they were identified by fear-stricken Christendom with Gog and Magog, the forerunners of the dissolution of the world. After devastating Bavaria, Germany, Southern France, and Italy, they were at

he latter country, once the home of the Celtic the Boii, then occupied by the Marcomanni, and, migration with the Goths and Alani to the t of Europe, by the Slavonic nation of the experienced, as might be expected, the effects ssionary labours of Methodius. The existence s influences in the same direction might be om the fact, that fourteen Bohemian chiefs were it Ratisbon in the year 844. But such conces- he dominant religion of the German court were t in their effects. About the year 871, the Duke Borziwoi, who was still heathen, visited of the Moravian prince Swatopluk. The story on his arrival, he was received with all due ut, at dinner, was assigned by the Moravian gether with his attendants, a place on the floor,

Duke Borziwoi at the court of Swatopluk.

by Henry the Fowler, ır Merseburg. (Men- *ny*, I. 321.) Twenty)tho the Great inflicted a terrible defeat, and g with the Avars, they ı within their present ınd began to value the ivilization. Two chiefs been baptized in 949, sed into Paganism, and uld make but little im-)is rude subjects. The another chief, named by the exertions of nu- ıtian captives, kept the ark alive till the year 'iligrin, bishop of Pas- mally commissioned by II. to undertake the n of the country. Ap- bishop of Lorch (Jaffé's *Rom.* p. 332), and aided ergy, he strove to carry sion. But his success erable. A more auspi- wned in 997 on the ac- son of Geisa, named Waik, or Stephen, as he was called at his baptism by Adelbert, Archbishop of Prague. (Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* XIII. 231.) The new king, amidst much opposition, and in spite of formidable resistance established schools, and Benedictine monasteries, divided his kingdom into eleven dioceses, under the archbishop of Gran, and invited monks and clergy from every quarter. To encourage pilgrimage and open communications with other countries he founded a college for the education of his countrymen at Rome, and monasteries and hospitals at Ravenna, Constantinople and Jerusalem. (Pertz, XIII. 235. Döllinger, III. 34. Gieseler, III. 463.) His zeal won the fervent gratitude of Silvester II., who bestowed upon him the title of king, and invested him with the most extensive authority in ecclesiastical affairs. But with his successor a reaction set in, and as late as 1061 the old and the new religion were struggling for the mastery.

[1] Krasinski's *Lectures*, p. 43.

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A.D. 871.

as being tainted with heathenism. This attracted the notice of Methodius, who was seated with Swatopluk at the high table, and he expressed to the Duke his surprise that one so powerful as himself should occupy a position no higher than that of a swineherd. "What may I hope to gain by becoming a Christian?" inquired the Duke. "A place higher than all kings and princes," was the reply. Thereupon he was baptized, together with thirty of his attendants. Subsequently his wife Ludmilla, and their two sons, embraced the faith, and became eager for its propagation amongst their people. A Moravian priest had accompanied Borziwoi to his kingdom, and a partial success rewarded the efforts of the court, which was itself divided as to the admission of the new creed. The piety of Wratislav, his successor, kept alive the flickering spark, and the energetic Ludmilla hoped to maintain it during another generation by superintending the education of his two sons, Wenceslav and Boleslav. But on the death of Wratislav in 925, a reaction set in. His widow, Dragomira, who had never laid aside her heathen errors, did all in her power to eradicate Christianity; she murdered the virtuous Ludmilla, banished the clergy, and destroyed the churches. The young princes differed widely in their sentiments with respect to the new faith. Wenceslav, who succeeded to the throne, in spite of all the efforts of his mother, continued faithful to the lessons taught him by Ludmilla. His life was distinguished by exemplary integrity, and he was on the point of exchanging his crown for the cowl of a monk, when he was basely attacked by his brother Boleslav, while performing his devotions, and killed in the tumult that ensued.

Baptism of Borziwoi.

Pious efforts of Ludmilla.

A.D. 925.

Murder of Wenceslav.

A.D. 936.

The new king, who was surnamed the "Cruel," offered no quarter to his Christian subjects. A bitter persecution broke out, the clergy were expelled, the churches and monasteries razed to the ground. But, after a period of

fourteen years, the success of the Emperor Otho I.[1] obliged him to change his policy, nor could he purchase peace except by consenting to leave his Christian subjects unmolested, and to offer no obstacle to the propagation of their faith. The infant Church of Bohemia now had rest, and, under the new king, Boleslav "the Pious," whom his father, with a strange inconsistency, had devoted to a religious life, experienced a very different fortune. Boleslav II. was as eager to extirpate paganism as his father had been to maintain it, and by his exertions, supported by the authority and influence of the Emperor Otho, a more definite organization was imparted to the Bohemian Church, and a bishopric established at Prague[2]. The first bishop was a Saxon named Diethmar; his successor Adelbert, who had been educated at Magdeburg, and whose Bohemian name was Wogteich, distinguished himself by energy and activity in his duties, and erected many churches and monasteries. But though a door was opened for missionary exertions, there were "many adversaries" who hampered and restricted the work. Pagan customs and a pagan party still exerted a baneful influence. Polygamy and incestuous marriages were unchecked, and a divorce could be obtained for the slightest cause. The clergy were sunk in the grossest immorality, and the slave-trade was carried on with unblushing effrontery, Jewish slave-merchants disposing of captives to heathens, even, it is said, for the purpose of sacrifice[3]. The bishop determined to undertake the arduous task of reformation. But his zeal was not tempered with prudence. Educated at Magdeburg, he had learnt to regard the Slavonic Liturgy, which had found its way into Bohemia from Moravia, with the utmost suspicion. His determination to uphold the Roman "uses" provoked the most strenuous opposition, and he retired in

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A.D. 936. *Boleslav conquered by Otho I.*

A.D. 967—999.

Diethmar bishop of Prague.

A.D. 982.

Adelbert's attempted reforms.

[1] On this emperor's proselytizing wars, see Snorro, I. 391—393.

[2] Wiltsch, I. 425.

[3] Döllinger, III. 27.

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despair to the seclusion of a convent. The voice of a Roman Synod recalled him to resume his work in 994. He returned, but only to fly a second time, and finally repaired to Prussia, with a commission from Gregory V. to evangelize that country, where, as we shall see, he met with his death. What he had unsuccessfully endeavoured to bring about in Bohemia, was achieved by a later primate, named Severus. Under his influence the Slavonic ritual disappeared more and more, and the Bohemian Church was organized on the model of the orthodox German churches[1].

A.D. 994. *Retires to Prussia.*

A.D. 1038—1067.

iv. *Russia.*

iv. And now, reserving for a subsequent Chapter the history of missionary exertions among the more Northern members of the great Slavonic family of nations, let us turn in an Easterly direction towards those Scythian wilds and level steppes, where arose the Russian kingdom of Ruric the Norman. We need not linger over the legends of St Andrew, the Apostle of Scythia[2], nor the traditions of early missionary success which adorn the pages of Photius[3]. Before the close of the tenth century, news of the great kingdom rising round Novgorod and Kieff had, indeed, been carried to Constantinople by the traders passing down the great rivers, and tangible proof of the rising spirit of enterprise had been afforded, as early as 867, by the Russian armies, which appeared before the Byzantine capital, but it was scarcely known how vast were the resources of the great Slavonic empire, which had

A.D. 862. *Legends of early missions.*

[1] Gieseler, II. 458 *n.* 17. Hardwick's *Church History, Middle Age*, p. 125 *n.* In 1060, the Synod of Salona declared Methodius a heretic, and the Slavonian alphabet a diabolical invention. Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, p. 17.

[2] "Ascending up and penetrating by the Dnieper into the deserts of Scythia, he planted the first cross on the hills of Kieff, and 'See you,' said he to his disciples, 'these hills? On these hills shall shine the light of divine grace. There shall be here a great city, and God shall have in it many churches to His Name.'" Nestor, quoted in Mouravieff's *Church of Russia*, translated by Blackmore, p. 7. Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 293. Fabricii *Lux Evang.* p. 471.

[3] *Epist.* II. 58. Hardwick, 129 *n.*

already expanded from Moscow to the Baltic on the one hand, and to the Euxine on the other. But now it was, while the Western Church was contemplating with awe and terror the gradual coming of the Day of Doom, that "the Eastern Church, silently and almost unconsciously, bore into the world her mightiest offspring[1]." CHAP XIII. A.D. 862.

In the year 955 the Princess Olga, accompanied by a numerous retinue, left Kieff on a journey to the Byzantine capital, and there, whether from predisposing causes already at work[2], or from the effect of what she saw[3], was induced to embrace Christianity, and received the name of Helena, having for her sponsor the Emperor Porphyrogenitus. Returning to her native land she exerted herself with exemplary diligence to instil the doctrines of her new creed into the mind of her son Swiatoslav. But on this prince her exhortations produced little or no effect. He was the very type of the rough Varangian warrior. "Wrapt in a bearskin," writes Gibbon, "he usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle; his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer, his meat (it was often horseflesh) was boiled or roasted on the coals[4]." For him the gods of his ancestors were sufficient, and the entreaties of his mother were thrown away. Her grandson, Vladimir, seemed likely to become a more docile pupil, though the zeal he subsequently displayed for the savage idolatry of his countrymen was not at first calculated to inspire much confidence[5]. A.D. 955. *Baptism of the Princess Olga.* A.D. 930.

[1] Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 294.

[2] Döllinger, III. 30. Hardwick, p. 129.

[3] The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described, with minute diligence, the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple." Gibbon, VII. 92, ed. Smith.

[4] Gibbon, VII. 89, ed. Smith.

[5] In his reign the only two Christian martyrs, (of the Russian chroniclers), the Varangians Theodore and John, "were put to death by the fury of the people, because one of them, from natural affection, had refused to give up his son, when he had been devoted by the prince Vladimir to be offered as a sacrifice to Peroun." Mouravieff, p. 10.

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A.D 986. *Vladimir.*

Visited by
1. *Mahometan,*

2. *Jewish,*

3. *Roman Catholic,*

4. *Greek missionaries.*

Picture of the Last Judgment.

But he was not to remain long halting between two opinions. The desire of converting so powerful a chief attracted missionaries from many quarters. First, according to the Russian chronicler, came the Mahometan Bulgarians from the Volga; but "the mercy of Providence inspired Vladimir to give them a decided refusal." Then came Jews from amongst the Chazars, priding themselves on their religion, and telling many stories of the ancient glories of Jerusalem. "But where is your country?" said the Prince. "It is ruined by the wrath of God for the sins of our fathers," was the reply. Thereupon the interview was cut short by the decisive answer, "How can I embrace the faith of a people whom their God has utterly abandoned?" Next appeared Western doctors from Germany, who would have had the prince embrace the creed of Western Christendom: but Vladimir knew of no form of Christianity save such as was taught at Byzantium. They too, therefore, retired without effecting their object. Last of all came one who is styled by the chronicler, "a philosopher from Greece." He reasoned with Vladimir long and earnestly; and learning that he had received emissaries from the Jews, who accused the Christians of worshipping a God who had been crucified, he took the opportunity of relating the true account from beginning to end. Then he went on to speak of "judgment to come," and showed him on a tablet the scene of the Last Day. On the right were the good going into everlasting joy, on the left were the wicked departing into eternal fire. "Happy are those on the right," said Vladimir; "woe to the sinners who are on the left." "If thou wishest to enter into happiness with those on the right," replied the missionary, "consent to be baptized[1]."

Vladimir reflected in silence, but deferred his decision. Next year, however, he sent for certain of his nobles, and

[1] Mouravieff, p. 11. Neander, v. 453.

informed them of the different deputations he had received. "Every man praises his own religion," said they; "send, therefore, certain of thy court to visit the different churches, and bring back word." Messengers were accordingly dispatched to the Jews and Mahometans, as also to the German and Eastern churches. Of all they returned the most unfavourable report, except only the Church of Constantinople. Of this they could not say enough. When they visited the Byzantine capital, they were conducted to the church of St Sophia, then, perhaps, the finest ecclesiastical structure in the world. The patriarch himself celebrated the Liturgy with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The gorgeous processions, the music, the chanting, the appearance of the deacons and sub-deacons with lighted torches, and white linen wings on their shoulders, before whom the people prostrated themselves, crying "Kyrie Eleison," all this so utterly different from anything they had ever witnessed amidst their own wild steppes, had such an overpowering effect on the Russian envoys, that, on their return to Vladimir, they spake not a word in favour of the other religions, but of the Greek Church they could not say enough. "When we stood in the temple," said they, "we did not know where we were, for there is nothing else like it upon earth: there in truth God has His dwelling with men; and we can never forget the beauty we saw there. No one who has once tasted sweets will afterwards take that which is bitter: nor can we now any longer abide in heathenism." Thereupon the Boyars said to Vladimir, "If the religion of the Greeks had not been good, your grandmother Olga, who was the wisest of women, would not have embraced it. The weight of the name of Olga decided her grandson, and he said no more in answer than these words, "Where shall we be baptized[1]?"

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A.D. 986.

Messengers sent to the various Churches.

Church of St Sophia.

[1] Mouravieff, pp. 12, 353. Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 300.

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A.D. 986. *Vladimir lays siege to Cherson.*

Still, like Clovis, he hesitated before taking so important a step, and "led by a sense which had not yet been purged by grace," according to the chronicler, he thought fit to overawe the country whence he intended to receive his new religion, and laid siege to Cherson in the Tauride. The siege was long and obstinate. A priest at length informed the Russian chief by means of an arrow shot from the town that its safety depended on cutting off the supply of water from the aqueducts. Elated at the prospect of success Vladimir vowed to be baptized as soon as he should be master of the place. His wish was gratified, and forthwith he sent ambassadors to Constantinople to demand the hand of Anne, sister of the Emperor Basil. Compliance was promised on condition of his accepting Christianity. Vladimir declared his consent, and the sister of the Emperor was constrained to go, and she sailed for Cherson accompanied by a large body of clergy.

A.D. 988. *Baptism of Vladimir.*

Her arrival hastened the baptism of the prince, which was celebrated in the church of the Most Holy Mother of God. Nor, according to the chronicler, was it unaccompanied with miracle. Vladimir was suffering from a complaint of the eyes when his new consort reached him, but no sooner had he risen from the font, cleansed of the leprosy of his heathenism, than the bishop of Cherson laid his hands on his eyes, and his sight was restored, while the prince cried, "Now I have seen the true God." Many of his suite, thereupon, consented to follow his example, and shortly afterwards, accompanied by the Greek clergy, he returned to Kieff[1], and forthwith ordered his twelve sons to be baptized, and proceeded to destroy the monuments of heathenism. The huge idol Peroun was dragged from its temple at a horse's tail, scourged by twelve

[1] Kieff was one of the great centres of the Slavonic religion: other centres were Novgorod, Retra in Mecklenburgh, Karenz in Rugen, Winneta in Wollin, Julin, Stettin, and Arcona.

mounted pursuers, and then flung into the Dnieper. "The people at first followed their idol down the stream, but were soon quieted when they saw it had no power to help itself." Thus successful, Vladimir felt encouraged to take a further step, and gave order for the immediate baptism of his people. "Whoever on the morrow," ran the proclamation, "shall not repair to the river, whether rich or poor, I shall hold him for my enemy." Accordingly at the word of their "respected lord" all the inhabitants with their wives and children flocked in crowds to the Dnieper, and there, in the words of Nestor, "some stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts, holding their young children in their arms; the priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name." Vladimir, transported at the sight, cried out, "O great God! who hast made heaven and earth, look down upon these Thy new people. Grant them, O Lord, to know Thee the true God, as Thou hast been made known to Christian lands, and confirm in them a true and unfailing faith; and assist me, O Lord, against my enemy that opposes me, that, trusting in Thee, and in Thy power, I may overcome all his wiles."

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A.D. 992.

The idol Peroun flung into the Dnieper.

On the very spot where the temple of Peroun had stood he now erected the church of St Basil, and encouraged the Greek priests in erecting others throughout the towns and villages of his realm. Michael the first Metropolitan with his bishops travelled from place to place, baptizing and instructing the people. Churches were built, the choral music and service-books of Constantinople were introduced, as also the Greek Canon law; schools also gradually arose, and the people became familiar with the Slavonic Scriptures and Liturgy, which the labours of Cyril and Methodius, in Bulgaria and Moravia, had made ready to their hands.

A.D. 996.

Under Leontius, the next Metropolitan, the Greek

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A.D. 996. *Leontius the second Metropolitan.*

Church was enabled to consolidate her conquests. Bishops were now placed at Novgorod, Rostoff, Chernigoff, Vladimir, and Belgorod. In the first of these new sees the contest with idolatry was carried on as successfully as it had been at Kieff. Another statue of Peroun was flung into the river, and the idolatrous altars were overthrown without opposition on the part of the people[1]. Wherever civilization had penetrated, and trade and commerce had opened up the country to external influences, the work went on with comparative ease. But the first two bishops of Rostoff were driven away by the people, who continued long fanatically addicted to their old rites; and it was only by dint of untiring labour, and amidst much persecution, that their successors succeeded in planting the foundations of the Church[2].

A.D. 1019—1077.

[1] Mouravieff, p. 17.

[2] The irruption of the terrible Mongols (1223) long checked the development of the Russian state, nor did it finally free itself from their oppression till 1462. During this period the chair of the metropolitan was removed to Vladimir, and thence in 1320 to Moscow. Hardwick, 131 *n.*

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONVERSION OF POLAND AND POMERANIA.

A.D. 1000—1127.

"Addentes virum esse honorabilem, domi divitem, et nunc quoque in aliena terra suis opibus sufficientem; nihil enim petere, nullius egere, pro illorum salute advenire, non quæstus gratia." —EBBONIS *Vita Ottonis.*

Supremacy of Slavonic superstitions in Poland and Pomerania.

THOUGH by his reception of Christianity Vladimir dealt a heavy blow to the supremacy of the Slavonic superstitions in Russia, they long continued to maintain their ascendancy in other parts of Europe, and nowhere more persistently than in Poland, Pomerania, Wendland, and Prussia. In these countries, the Slavonic hierarchy, who were as numerous and almost as potent as in the religious institutions of India and Egypt, presented a formidable obstacle to the labours of the Christian missionary. Not only had they their representatives in every town and village, but the higher members of the order wielded a power always equal, and often superior to that of the dukes or princes of the several states[1]. The time, however, was now at hand when these strongholds of the Slavonic faith were to be penetrated by the light of civilization, and their votaries reclaimed, at least in some measure, from their heathen errors.

[1] "Rex apud eos modicæ estimationis est comparatione Flaminis. Sacerdos ad nutum sortium, et porro rex et populus ad illius nutum pendent." Helmold, *Chron. Slav.* II. 12. Peter de Dusburg, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, 79.

CHAP. XIV.

A.D. 965.

Pomerania, the district with which we shall be mainly concerned in the present Chapter, owed its evangelization in the first instance to its subjugation by the Dukes of Poland, to the rise of Christianity in which country we shall first devote a few words. The seeds of Christianity are said to have been wafted into Poland[1] from Moravia, as early as the ninth century, and Christian refugees from the invasions of the Hungarians appear to have still further extended its progress during the tenth. In the year 965 the Polish duke Mieceslav I. married Dambrowka the daughter of the Christian king of Bohemia, and shortly afterwards embraced the Christian faith[2]. The relations between Poland and the German Empire at this period were of the most intimate character. Mieceslav not only recognised the sovereignty of the German Empire, but took his place in the diets as one of its members. Political causes, therefore, conspired to induce the wish that his subjects should adopt his own creed; but he could think of no other means of producing this result but stern and rigorous penalties. An illustration of their rigour is supplied by a proclamation which he issued forbidding his subjects, under penalty of losing their teeth, to eat flesh during the interval between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter. This enactment is recorded by Ditmar[3], bishop of Merseburg, who pleads in its extenuation that for a people requiring to be tended like cattle, and beaten like stubborn asses, such means of proselytism were more adapted than the gentler measures which the spirit of Christianity would have dictated. Mieceslav's subjects viewed the matter in a different light; they rebelled against

Efforts of Mieceslav for the conversion of Poland.

[1] On the legend of St Andrew's preaching in Poland, see Fabricii *Lux Evang.* 451. Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, p. 6.

[2] Cyril and Methodius are supposed by some to have visited Poland, or at least their disciples are said to have been active in the country. Krasinski, p. 13.

[3] "Populus more bovis est pascendus et tardi ritu asini castigandus, et sine gravi pœna non potest cum salute principis tractari." Thietmari *Chronicon*, Pertz, v. 861.

their chief's relentless rigour, and consequently the Gospel made little progress during the first twenty years of his supremacy. CHAP. XIV. A.D. 970.

Erection of a Polish bishopric at Posen.

In the year 970 the Emperor Otho I. had erected a Polish bishopric at Posen, which was subordinated to the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, and afterwards to that of Magdeburg[1]. Coming as it did through Moravia the early Christianity of Poland was tinged with Eastern influences. But the marriage of Mieceslav with his fourth wife Oda, the daughter of a German count, gradually led to the preponderance of the Latin system, which was still further promoted by the influx of foreign clergy from France, Italy, and Germany, who filled the numerous monasteries erected by Oda, and appropriated all the ecclesiastical preferments in the country. Otho III., on the occasion of his visit to Gnesen[2], bestowed the title of king on the son of Mieceslav, made Gnesen a metropolitan see, and gave it authority over the sees of Breslau, Cracow, and Colberg[3]. A.D. 1000.

On the death of Mieceslav II. Poland fell into a state of utter confusion. The heathen party, who had long submitted with sullen unwillingness to the degradation of the national faith, now regained their ascendancy, and retaliated for a long series of oppressions by burning monasteries and churches, by hunting down, and, in some instances, killing the bishops and clergy. At last the Poles resolved to offer the crown to Casimir I., a son of the late king. He had been banished from the country, and had retired to a Benedictine monastery, where he had not only taken the monastic vows, but had received ordination. When, therefore, his countrymen desired to place him on the throne they were met by the reply of the abbot that A.D. 1034.

Elevation of Casimir I. to the throne.

[1] Krasinski, p. 172.

[2] On a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Adalbert, whose remains had just been removed to Gnesen. Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, 28.

[3] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 485. Wiltsch, I. 427.

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A. D. 1034.

he could not release him from his engagements. In this dilemma, appeal was made to Pope Benedict IX., who, after much entreaty, at length consented to absolve Casimir from his vows, and permitted him to marry and ascend the throne. The new king repaid his benefactor by extirpating such vestiges as still remained of the Slavonic Liturgies, and uniting the Polish Church still more closely with the Papal See.

Subjugation of Eastern Pomerania.

One of the dioceses over which, as we have said, Otho III. had given Gnesen metropolitan authority, was Colberg in Eastern Pomerania[1]. This country had been invaded by the Polish Duke Boleslav, and annexed to the Polish dominions. The first bishop, however, of Colberg, who was a German, was able to accomplish little or nothing towards extending Christianity in his diocese, and was murdered in 1015, while on a journey to Russia. The Polish yoke was detested by the Pomeranians, and the relations subsisting between the two countries were similar to those between Charlemagne and the Saxons. Like the latter, the Pomeranians were ever unfurling the standard of rebellion, and thus bringing on fresh invasions of their country, that could be averted only by a timely submission to the rite of baptism, which thus became the hated symbol of subjugation. After a century of constant hostilities, the Polish authority was still further extended in Pomerania; in 1121, the Western districts, as well as the Eastern, were subjugated and made tributary, and the inhabitants were constrained to take an oath promising to adopt the Christian faith. The invasions of the Polish duke, Boleslav III., were carried on with remorseless cruelty; "he was determined," says the chronicler[2],

Invasions of Boleslav III.

[1] "*Pommo* lingua Sclavonum *juxta* sonat vel *circa*, *moriz* autem *mare*; inde Pommerania quasi Pommorizania, idem, *juxta* vel *circa mare sita*" Ebbonis *Vita*, II. 1. Latham's *Taciti Germania*, XVII.

[2] Herbordi *Vita Ottonis*, Pertz, XII. 777.

"either utterly to crush his enemies, or to drive them at the point of the sword to adopt the Christian religion." Stettin, the Pomeranian capital, was attacked and captured in the midst of a dreary winter; the whole district was ravaged with fire and sword, and the piles of skeletons were pointed out even three years afterwards by the survivors[1]. Eighteen thousand of the Pomeranian soldiers were put to death, eight thousand of the people with their wives and children were transported into Poland, and employed in garrisoning the frontier, after having first been forced to promise to abjure their idols and receive baptism.

Boleslav essays the conversion of his subjects.

How to extend any knowledge of Christianity in the subject province afforded Boleslav considerable anxiety. In vain he applied to the Polish bishops, who each and all declined the dangerous task. In the year 1122, however, a Spanish priest, named Bernard, who had been elevated to a bishopric at Rome, appeared at his court, and requested permission to preach the word in Pomerania. The Duke did not conceal the difficulties his request involved, but would not forbid his making the trial. Bernard himself was peculiarly unfitted for the task. As a Spaniard he was utterly unacquainted with the Pomeranian language, and being of an ascetic turn, he was unable to throw himself into the real requirements of the work. Accompanied, however, by his chaplain, and an interpreter, supplied by Boleslav, he repaired to the town of Julin barefooted and in the garb of a mendicant. The Pomeranians, an easy, merry, well-conditioned race[2], accustomed to the splendid

Bishop Bernard.

[1] *Ibid.* "Omnem in circuitu ejus regionem igni et ferro vastavit, adeo ut ruinas et adustiones et acervos cadaverum interfectorum incolæ nobis per diversa loca monstrarent post tres annos ac si de strage recenti."

[2] On the fertility of the country, see Herbordi *Vita*, II. 40; where we find enumerated among articles of diet, "Ferinæ cervorum, bubalorum et equulorum agrestium, ursorum, aprorum, porcorum, omniumque ferarum copia redundat omnis provincia; butirum de armento et lac de ovibus cum adipe agnorum et arietum, cum habundantia mellis et tritici, cum canapo et papavere et cuncti generis legumine."

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A.D. 1121.

appearance of their own priests, regarded the missionary with profound disdain. When he asserted that he had come as the messenger of God, they asked how it was possible to believe that the great Lord of the World, glorious in power and rich in all resources, would send as his messenger a man in such a despicable garb, without even shoes on his feet. If the great Being had really desired their conversion, He would have sent a more suitable envoy and representative. As for Bernard, if he had any regard for his own safety, he had better straightway return whence he came, and not discredit the name of his God by pretending to have a mission from Him, when in reality he only wanted relief in his destitution. Bernard replied by proposing, if they would not believe his words, that a ruinous house should be set on fire, and he himself flung into the midst. "If while the house is consumed, I come forth unscathed," said he, "then believe that *I am* sent unto you by Him whom the fire as well as every other created thing obeys." The Pomeranians, convinced that he was mad, urged him to leave the place; but, instead of heeding the advice, Bernard struck down one of the sacred images, on which a riot ensued, and he was hurried on board a vessel, with the advice, since he was so eager to preach, to exercise his talents in addressing the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air[1].

Otho bishop of Bambery.

Bernard seeing there was no hope of success retired to Bamberg, where he met the bishop Otho, a Suabian of noble family. Otho had received a learned education, and had lived in Poland as the chaplain of the Duke Wratislav[2]. Entrusted with various missions to the German court, during one of which he had been instrumental in procuring

[1] Ebbonis *Vita Ottonis*, II. 1. "Quandoquidem tanta tibi prædicationis inest aviditas, prædica piscibus maris et volatilibus cœli, et cave ne ultra fines nostros attingere præsumas, quia non est qui recipiat te, non est usque ad unum." On Bernard's visit, see the subsequent speech of Wratislav at the diet of Usedom, Herbordi *Vita*, III. 3. Ebbo, III. 6. 13.

[2] Ebbo, I. 2.

for his master the hand of the sister of Henry IV., he attracted the notice of the Emperor, became his secretary, and was rewarded for his fidelity with the bishopric of Bamberg. Here he became famous not only for his monastic austerities but for his charity and upright life, for the zeal with which he promoted the erection of churches and monasteries, and the interest he took in the education of his people. An ardent reformer of ecclesiastical abuses he had laboured unceasingly in his diocese, and had received tokens of approbation from several Popes. As soon then as he heard of Bernard's arrival at Bamberg, he welcomed him to his palace, and inquired into all the particulars of his late mission.

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The more they conversed on the subject the more sure did Bernard feel that in Otho he saw one peculiarly adapted to carry out the enterprize which had so signally failed in his own hands. Again and again he urged the bishop on the subject, and assured him that he could not fail of success, if he would but consent to appear among the Pomeranians with becoming pomp and circumstance, and attended by a numerous retinue[1]. To the solicitations of Bernard were soon added those of the Duke Boleslav, who, remembering his energetic character when his father's secretary, importuned him to undertake the work, engaged to defray all the expenses of the mission, to provide an escort, interpreters, and whatever else might be necessary. Thus pressed on all sides, Otho at length determined to comply, and after seeking the blessing of the Pope Calixtus II., and receiving from him the appointment of Papal legate[2], devoted his energies to collecting a numerous body of clergy to accompany him, and procuring the requisite

A.D. 1123.

Bernard persuades Otho to undertake the Pomeranian mission.

[1] "Necesse est ut tu...assumpta cooperatorum et obsequentium nobili frequentia, sed et victus ac vestitus copioso apparatu, illuc tendas, ut qui humilitatis jugum et effrenata cervice spreverunt, *divitiarum gloriam reveriti* colla submittent." Ebbonis *Vita*, II. 2.

[2] Jaffé's *Regest. Pont. Rom.* p. 548, Döllinger, III. 274.

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ecclesiastical furniture for such churches as he might build, together with rich and costly robes, and other presents for the Pomeranian chiefs.

Otho arrives at Gnesen.

These provided, with Ulric his favourite chaplain, seven other ecclesiastics, and several attendants, he set out for the scene of his labours on the 25th of April, 1124. Passing through the friendly territory of the Duke of Bohemia, he arrived at Breslau on the 2nd of May, and after a stay of two days at Posen, set out for Gnesen, where Boleslav was awaiting him with several of the neighbouring chiefs. Otho's entrance into the town was welcomed by a crowd of spectators, who flung themselves at his feet and besought his blessing. During a stay of seven days, the legate discussed with Boleslav the future plan of operations, and the Duke collected waggons to carry the provisions and baggage, supplied money of the country, attendants acquainted with the German and Slavonic languages, and instructed a captain named Paulicius to take the command of a protecting escort.

Difficulties of the journey.

On the eighth day Otho and his retinue bade farewell to their entertainer, and plunged into the vast forest which then formed the boundary between the Polish and Pomeranian territories. As yet it had only been once traversed by the soldiers of Boleslav on one of their marauding expeditions, and the trees they had felled marked the only practicable path. Into this the missionary party struck, and with the utmost difficulty, and no little danger, succeeded in making their way[1], and after six days emerged on the banks of the river Netze, where they were met by the Pomeranian Duke Wratislav at the head of five hundred soldiers. While Otho and the Duke conferred in

[1] "Magna quidem difficultate propter serpentium ferarumque monstra diversarum, necnon et gruum in ramis arborum nidos habentium, nosque garritu et plausu nimis infestantium, importunitatem, simulque propter loca palustria quadrigas et currus præpedientia, vix diebus sex emenso nemore, ad ripam fluminis, quod limen Pomeraniæ est, consedimus." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 10.

private as to the plan to be pursued, the ecclesiastics in his train were thrown into no little alarm by the terrible aspect of the Pomeranian warriors, who, drawing their sharp knives, threatened to flay them alive, and bury them in the ground up to their necks. These threats, and the uncertainty as to Wratislav's intentions, added to the rapidly deepening shades of evening, threw a gloom over the whole party, which, however, was dispersed in the morning, when they discovered that the Duke's intentions were peaceful, and that his troops shared his feelings. In a second conference full permission was formally given to Otho to preach in the Pomeranian dominions, and the missionary party, escorted as before, set out for Pyritz. Their path lay through a district which had suffered severely during the late wars with Poland, and thirty scattered peasants were the sole representatives of the ruined villages. They were asked whether they were willing to be baptized, and, scared by the martial retinue of the legate, flung themselves at his feet, and professed their entire willingness to submit to his wishes. Without more ado, the rite was conferred by Otho, who consoled himself for the fewness of the recipients by the reflection that *thirty* was a mystical number, being the product of the multiplication of the number of the Trinity with that of the Decalogue[1]. Pyritz was reached late in the evening, but it was thought prudent to remain outside the walls, instead of entering at a time when a great religious festival was in course of celebration, and a vast number of strangers had assembled to join in the revels. The night, therefore, was spent in the open fields, the trembling ecclesiastics scarcely daring to sleep, much less to kindle

Baptism of thirty villagers.

[1] "Hos ergo quasi primitias Dominicæ messis, in aream Domini sui messor devotus cum gratiarum actione componens, baptizavit illic homines 30, fidemque Sanctæ Trinitatis, et Decalogum Legis in numero tacite considerans, opus Evangelicum mystice a se inchoatum gavisus est." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 12.

CHAP. XIV. a fire or address one another in tones louder than a whisper.

A.D. 1124.

Entry into Pyritz.

As soon as it was day, Paulicius, with the envoys of the dukes Boleslav and Wratislav, entered the town, and convened an assembly of the principal inhabitants. Reminding them that their promise to accept Christianity was one of the conditions of peace, they announced that the legate, a man of noble birth, not a mendicant like Bernard, but rich and powerful, was nigh at hand, and they warned them not to incur the displeasure of the Dukes by delaying to receive them into the town. Overawed by this threatening address, and deeming themselves deserted by their national gods, the people of Pyritz at last agreed to admit the bishop within the town. Accordingly a procession was formed, and Otho made his entrance with every sign of pomp, which the long train of baggage-waggons, and the retinue of ecclesiastics and soldiers, could inspire. At first the people misinterpreted the meaning of this display, and thought they had been deceived. But Otho quickly reassured them, and after fixing his tent in one of the squares, attired in his full pontifical robes ascended an eminence, and thus opened his mission: "The blessing of the Lord be upon you. We return you many thanks for having refreshed our hearts by your hearty and loving reception. Doubtless ye have already heard what is the object of our coming, but it will not be amiss to remind you again. For the sake of your salvation, your happiness, your joy, we have come a long and weary way. And assuredly ye will be happy and blessed, if ye be willing to listen to our words, and to acknowledge the Lord your Creator, and to serve and worship Him only."

Baptism of seven thousand.

Having thus announced the purport of his mission, he and his attendant ecclesiastics devoted themselves to the work of instructing the people; and having appointed a

fast of three days, bade them purify themselves by frequent ablution, and so prepare for the reception of baptism. Meanwhile large vessels[1] were sunk in the ground, filled with water, and surrounded with curtains. Hither on the fourth day repaired upwards of seven thousand candidates for the rite, and were solemnly addressed by Otho on the vows they were about to make. The usual questions were duly asked and answered, and then the bishop and the rest of the clergy, standing outside the curtains, baptized the different groups as they were successively led up. Everything, the biographer of the bishop assures us, was conducted with modesty and decorum, and nothing occurred to mar the solemnity of the rite[2]. Twenty days were spent at Pyritz, and during this period the missionaries employed themselves diligently in instructing all who were willing to listen to their words. The subject-matter of their homilies is best illustrated by that of Otho's sermon before leaving the town. "All ye, my brethren," said he, "who are here present, and who have believed in Christ, and have been baptized, have put on Christ; ye have received from Him the forgiveness of all your sins actual and original; ye are cleansed and pure, not through any deed of your own, but through the operation of Him into Whose name ye have been baptized; for He has washed away the sins of the whole world in His blood. Beware, then, of all contamination with idolatry;

Otho's missionary sermon.

[1] "Dolia grandia valde terræ altius immergi præcepit, ita ut ora doliorum usque ad genu hominis vel minus de terra prominerent, quibus aqua impletis, facilis erat in eam descensus." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 15. In the winter the water was warmed, "in stupis calefactis et in aqua calida eodem nitore atque verecundiæ observatione, infossis doliis et cortinis adhibitis, thure quoque et aliis odoriferis speciebus cuncta respergentibus, veneranda baptismi confecit sacramenta." *Ibid.*

[2] "Tribus exstructis baptisteriis, ita ordinavit, ut ipse solos mares pueros in uno baptizaret, alii autem sacerdotes in aliis feminas seorsum et viros seorsum. Tanta quoque diligentia, tanta munditia et honestate pater optimus sacramenti operationem fieri edocuit, ut nihil indecorum, nihil pudendum, nihil unquam quod alicui gentilium minus placere posset, ibi ageretur." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 15. Cf. also II. 19, 35.

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put your trust in God, who is your Creator, and worship no created thing, but rather seek to advance in faith and love, that His blessing may come upon you and upon your children, and that believing in Him, and adorning your faith by your works, ye may have true life through Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light. For be ye well assured, that if, by God's help, ye endeavour through life to be faithful to the promises ye have made this day, and to walk in holiness and purity, ye will not only escape eternal death, but enjoy the bliss of the kingdom of heaven for ever and ever." Otho then proceeded to treat of the Seven Sacraments[1], Baptism, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, the Eucharist, Penitence, Marriage, and Orders. The mention of marriage led him to observe that his hearers had hitherto been grievously tainted with polygamy. This could be no longer permitted. "If there are any amongst you," said Otho, "who have many wives, let him select the one he loves best, and cleave unto her only, as becometh a christened man." The cruel custom of infanticide[2] was denounced with the severest penalties, and the sermon concluded with an exhortation to respect the clergy left by the bishop, and a promise of another visit.

Cammin.

At Cammin, whither the missionaries next directed their steps, resided the wife of Duke Wratislav. She had long been favourable to the cause of Christianity, and materially aided the bishop by her influence. Forty days were spent here, and the time was employed in instructing the people, and preparing them for baptism, which rite was administered in the same way as at Pyritz, and to so many persons, that Otho could scarcely muster strength to super-

[1] "The earliest trace of this scholastic limitation." Hardwick, p. 322.

[2] Herbordi *Vita*, II. 16, 32. "Si plures filias aliqua genuisset, ut ceteris facilius provideret, aliquas ex eis jugulabant, pro nihilo ducentes parricidium."

intend the administration. Meanwhile Wratislav arrived, and greeted the missionaries with much cordiality. Many of his soldiers were baptized, and the Duke himself, constrained by the bishop's exhortations, swore upon the sacred relics to put away twenty-four of his concubines, and to cleave to one wife. His conduct made a great impression on the people, and not a few followed his example. A church was next built, and supplied with books and all the necessary ecclesiastical vestments and vessels. CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1124.

Julin.

The waggons, which had hitherto conveyed the baggage of the missionaries, were now exchanged for boats, in which to navigate the inland rivers and lakes which lay between Cammin and Julin[1], the spot selected for their next visit. Julin was a place strongly fortified, and devoted to the Slavonic superstitions. Here, it will be remembered, Bernard had provoked the wrath of the inhabitants, by offering violence to one of the national deities, and had in consequence been expelled from the country. As they neared the town, therefore, the boatmen advised that they should cast anchor till the evening at some little distance, and thus avoid the tumult likely to be excited by entering the place in the broad daylight. Not far from the spot where they anchored was a fort, which had been erected as a sanctuary and place of refuge for such as might fly thither when pursued by an enemy, or in any sudden emergency[2]. The boatmen advised the bishop to steal into the sacred inclosure under cover of the night, and assured him that there he would be quite secure. The suggestion was acted upon, and the night was spent in safety.

Violent opposition at Julin.

But the morning had no sooner dawned than an immense

[1] In the Island of Wollin.

[2] This appears to have been usual in all the Pomeranian towns. "In singulis civitatibus dux palatium habebat et curtim cum ædibus, ad quam si quis confugisset, lex talis erat, ut quolibet hoste persequente securus ibi consisteret et illæsus." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 23. Ebbo, II. 7.

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multitude of the townspeople surrounded the fort, and threatened the bishop and his retinue with death, if he did not instantly quit the place. In vain the commander of the military escort begged them to respect the sanctity of the asylum, the excited throng would pay no heed to his words, and with the utmost difficulty the bishop's retinue effected their escape from the fort, and got safely to their boats, having broken down the bridge in their rear to cut off the pursuit of the infuriated populace. It was now resolved to anchor for a week on the other side of a neighbouring lake, and to await any change in the popular feeling; and in the meantime communications were maintained between the town and the missionaries, who proclaimed the rank and style of the bishop, and threatened the speedy vengeance of the Duke for the insult they had received. This alarmed the people; the leading chiefs called together an assembly, and after much discussion respecting the admission of the bishop, it was agreed to abide by the decision of the people of Stettin, the oldest and wealthiest of the Pomeranian towns[1]. If Stettin did not decline to receive the bishop, neither would they. A pilot was, therefore, procured, who escorted the boats of the missionaries till Stettin was in sight, and then left them for fear of detection.

Stettin.

Night was setting in when they reached the Pomeranian capital, and again Otho sought a safe entrance by taking refuge in a fort belonging to the Duke[2]. In the morning their landing was discovered, and they explained to the townspeople the purport of their mission, and the desire of the Dukes that they should accept Christianity. But their overtures were rejected with scorn. "What have we to do with you?" was the universal cry. "We will not put away our national customs, and are well content with our present religion. Are there not thieves and robbers

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, II. 24.
[2] "Curtim ducis intravimus." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 25. Ebbo, II. 7.

among you Christians, whom we have seen deprived of their feet and eyes? Keep your own faith for yourselves, and intermeddle not with us." After two months had been spent in fruitless efforts to induce the people to reconsider their resolution, Otho determined to send messengers to Boleslav, informing him of the obstinacy of the Pomeranians, and asking his advice as to the course that ought to be pursued. His intentions transpired, and the townspeople filled with alarm, determined to send a counter embassy, promising conformity to the Duke's wishes, if he would promise a permanent peace, and agree to reduce the heavy tribute exacted from them.

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1124. *Embassy to Boleslav.*

While the messengers went on their respective errands, Otho and his companions paid frequent visits to the town, set up a Cross in the market-place, and persevered, in spite of opposition, in preaching to the people and exhorting them to abandon their errors[1]. At length two young men, sons of one of the principal chiefs, paid the bishop a visit, and requested information concerning the doctrines which he preached. To them Otho expounded, as he best could, the teaching of the Church respecting the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the life of the world to come. The visit was often repeated, and at length the young men declared their willingness to be baptized. Unknown to their parents they approached the font, and during the eight days following remained with the missionaries, who welcomed with joy the first fruits of their toils. Intelligence of what had occurred meanwhile reached their mother, and she immediately set out for the bishop's residence in quest of her sons. Knowing her influence in the town, Otho received her seated on a bank of turf in the open air, surrounded by his clergy, with the young men arrayed in their white baptismal robes seated at his feet. As she approached, the latter rose and on a signal

Baptism of two young chiefs.

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, II. 25. Ebbo, II. 8.

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from the bishop, went forth to meet her, when, to the surprise of all present, she sank to the ground on her knees, and in a flood of tears gave glory to God that she had lived to see the day of her sons' baptism. Then, turning to Otho, she informed him that she had long been a secret Christian, and now she openly avowed the faith, which she had first learnt while a captive in a distant land. The impression made on the townspeople was profound. The baptism of the entire household speedily followed, and the young men, returning with costly presents from the bishop, were successful in inducing many to listen more favourably to his exhortations, and did not fail to spread the fame of his generous liberality.

Reply of Boleslav.

While the excitement caused by this incident was at its height, the messengers returned from Gnesen, with a letter from Boleslav[1], in which he informed the townspeople that he could not understand their behaviour towards his friend the legate. Had it not been for the intercession of the latter, he would have inflicted on them the severest punishment; as it was, he had determined to forgive them, and was willing to remit a considerable portion of the tribute, and to guarantee a permanent peace, on condition that they submitted to the instructions of their spiritual teachers, otherwise they might look for his wrath and abiding displeasure. This letter Otho did not fail to have read to the people, and followed it up by renewed exhortations to embrace the terms proposed by the Duke, and by way of proving their sincerity, to suffer the temples of the national deities to be destroyed. If they felt any scruples about doing this themselves, then let him and his clergy commence the work of destruction, and if they escaped unhurt, let this be a proof of the worthlessness of the national faith. Permission at length was given, and after mass had been duly celebrated, Otho set out at the head

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, II. 29.

of his clergy, armed with clubs and axes to essay the work of demolition, while crowds of the townspeople stood anxiously on the watch to see what their own gods would do. One temple fell, and then another, and still the bishop's retinue were unharmed. Thereupon the multitude cried out, "What power can these gods have, who do not defend their own abodes? If they cannot defend themselves, how can they defend or advantage us?" Hundreds of willing hands now joined in the work of demolition, and, in a very short space of time, four of the largest temples[1] were razed to the ground, and the materials converted into fuel.

Destruction of the temples.

One of these structures, dedicated to the triple-headed Triglav and adorned with the rarest carvings[2], was stored with a vast number of votive offerings of considerable value, consisting of the spoils taken in various battles, gold and silver beakers, bulls' horns tipped with gold, swords, knives, and sacred vessels. These the people freely offered for Otho's acceptance, but he caused them to be sprinkled with holy water, and then gave them up for general distribution. All he reserved for himself was the triple head of Triglav, which he sent to the Pope[3], as a memorial of his victory over Slavonic idolatry. Other monuments of superstition now excited his attention, among which were a gigantic oak and a sacred spring close by, which were regarded with peculiar reverence. The tree Otho consented to spare in compliance with the reiterated solicitations of the people, on condition that they would agree to resort to it for the future, merely to enjoy

Triple head of Triglav sent to Rome.

[1] "*Continæ* quatuor," as they are called. Herbordi *Vita*, II. 31. "Est Vox Slavica. Apud Polonos est *konczyna* finis, fastigium; continæ igitur ædificia fastigata." Note in Pertz, XII. 793.

[2] See above, Chap. I. p. 33.

[3] Honorius II. The biographer of Otho says of the Slavonic temples, "Sedilia intus in circuitu extructa erant et mensæ, quia ibi conciliabula et conventus suos habere soliti erant. *Nam sive potare sive ludere sive seria sua tractare vellent, in easdem ædes certis diebus conveniebant et horis.*" Herbordi *Vita*, II. 31. Analogous customs at Corinth called forth the Apostolic remonstrances in 1 Cor. viii. 10.

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its shade, and not perform any heathen ceremonies[1]. The like indulgence, however, he would not extend to a black horse of great size, which was used for taking the spear-omens on going out to war or on any foray[2]. With much difficulty the people were induced to allow of its removal, and to abstain in future from thus seeking supernatural direction. When the emblems of heathen worship had been duly put away, the bishop exhorted them to regard all Christian men as brethren, whom it was sinful to sell into slavery, maltreat, or torture; he warned them against piracy, robbery, and infanticide; and, after instructing them in the first principles of the Christian faith, admitted numbers to the baptismal font, with the same ceremonies that we have described at Pyritz. The only man of influence who held out against his exhortations was the high priest, whose duty it was to wait upon the sacred horse. Nothing would induce him to forsake his old faith, and he atoned for his obduracy, so we are assured, by a sudden and awful death[3]. Before Otho left, he could point to a tangible memorial of his victory over the national heathenism in a church, which was erected in the market-place of the town.

Baptism of numbers.

Meanwhile what had taken place was not unknown at Julin. The townspeople had sent messengers and spies to the Slavonic capital, who narrowly watched and reported the bishop's proceedings, and the conduct of the people of Stettin. Consequently when Otho again presented himself at Julin[4], he found the populace ready and eager to receive baptism. The rite was performed as in other places, and with the consent of the chiefs it was agreed that a bishopric should be established here, to which Boleslav subsequently

[1] In Herbordi *Vita*, III. 22, we have a similar account of the destruction of a sacred nut-tree.

[2] *Ibid.* II. 32. See also supra, Chap. I. p. 34, n.

[3] "Tumore ventris ac dolore crepuit et mortuus est." Herbordi *Vita*, II. 33.

[4] On his way he preached and baptized at Garz and Lubzin. See notes in Herbordi *Vita*, II. 36.

nominated one of his chaplains, Adalbert[1], who had accompanied Otho on his tour. Having consecrated the chancels of two churches, he left Julin, and visited Clotkowe, Colberg, and Belgrade, where he was equally successful in inducing many to abandon their idolatry. The approach of winter however warned him that he must bring his labours to a close, and he spent the remaining period in visiting the places where he had achieved such rapid success, exhorted the infant Churches to constancy in the faith, and a holy life, and amid many expressions of regret, left the country for his own diocese, where he arrived early in the February of 1125.

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A.D. 1124.
Feb. 2. 1125.

Though anxious to resume his labours in the Pomeranian mission-field[2], Otho found the cares of his own diocese sufficient to claim all his attention. In the spring, however, of 1127[3], he determined to set out again, and once more collected, as preliminary to his journey, a number of costly presents. On this occasion he selected a different route. Passing through Saxony he laded his vessels at Halle, and dropping down the river Elbe, reached the town of Demmin[4]. The first sight that met his eyes, after making his way thither with the greatest difficulty, was one which must have excited painful emotions, and

A.D. 1127.

[1] *Ibid.* II. 36. Ebbo, II. 15. One of the reasons given for fixing the see here is "quia civitas hæc in meditullio sita est Pomoraniæ...et quod de medio ad omnes terminos terræ crisma et alia, quæ ab ipso accipienda sunt, facilius deportari possent."

[2] On the state of the newly-founded Churches during his absence, see Ebbo, III. 1, and Neander, VII. 23.

[3] On the year see the note in Pertz, XII. 800, 801. Ebbo, III. 3. 25. On his second visit, because the vine was unknown in Pomerania, "episcopus vitem illi terræ decasse nolens...cuppam surculis plenam attulit et implantari fecit, ut tellus ea vel sacrificio vinum procrearet." Ebbo, II. 40.

[4] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 1. On this occasion he resolved to defray himself all his personal expenses, and not to burden the Duke of Poland. He laded his vessel at Halle with "auri et argenti copia, purpura et briso et pannis preciosis, et muneribus magnis et variis pro varietate personarum," which conveyed the cargo by the Saale to the Elbe and Havel, where fifty waggons transported it to Demmin.

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convinced him that it would take a long time yet for the good seed he was anxiously sowing to take root and bear fruit. He found his old friend Wratislav returning from a successful expedition against the Leuticians, followed by a miserable train of captives, doomed to all the horrors of slavery,—wives torn from their husbands, sisters from brothers, children from their parents. For these wretched beings Otho pleaded long and earnestly. Some he persuaded the Duke to restore to their homes, others he himself redeemed and sent away rejoicing. After a conference with Wratislav it was resolved that a diet should be assembled at Usedom, at which the acceptance of the Christian faith should be formally proposed to the neighbouring chiefs. Thither, therefore, Otho directed his steps, preaching the word on the way, wherever opportunity offered.

Whitsunday was the day fixed for the diet, and on the arrival of the chiefs, Wratislav addressed them in the presence of the bishop, and urged that they should lay aside their idolatrous rites, and follow the example of their countrymen at Stettin and Pyritz[1]. The points he chiefly dwelt upon were the disinterestedness of Otho, a man of wealth, a legate of the Pope, in coming so long a journey for the sole benefit of the people of Pomerania. He contrasted his garb, retinue, and rank with that of previous itinerant missionaries, who had ventured to urge the claims of the Christian faith, and declaimed against the folly of any further persistence in the old belief. Otho then came forward, and basing his discourse on the theme suggested by the day, preached on the first Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit, on the various gifts then imparted to the early Church, on the remission of sins, and the Divine Mercy. His words were not lost upon his hearers. Many who had relapsed into idolatry confessed their sins, and

Diet of Usedom.

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 3.

were reconciled to the Church, others received instruction, and subsequently the rite of baptism. The diet ended, Wratislav suggested to the bishop, now that the reception of Christianity had been formally attested by a solemn assembly, that he should send forth his clergy two and two to the different towns and villages, and prepare the people for his own coming. CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1127.

Accordingly two of his clergy, Ulric and Albin, set out for the town of Wolgast, and were welcomed with much hospitality by the wife of the burgomaster[1]. No sooner, however, had Albin, who was acquainted with the Slavonic language, explained to her the object of their coming, than, in great alarm, she informed them that the people were in no friendly mood, that their priests had denounced death as the penalty, if any emissaries of the hateful bishop entered the place. The reason of this unusual hostility subsequently transpired. One of the chief priests in the town, enraged at the decree passed at Usedom, determined to defeat it by stratagem[2]. Clad in his white sacerdotal robes, he concealed himself in the night-time in a neighbouring wood, and remained there till dawn. As the day broke, a peasant journeying towards the town heard a voice calling to him from the sombre forest. Looking up, he could just discern in the dim light a white figure partially concealed by the brushwood. "Stand," said the voice, "and hearken to what I say. I am thy God; I am he that clothes the fields with grass, and arrays the forest with leaves; without me the fruit-tree cannot yield its fruit, or the field its corn, or the cattle their increase. These blessings I bestow on them that worship me, and from them that despise me I

Wolgast.

Stratagem of one of the heathen priests.

[1] On the hospitality of the Pomeranians, see Herbordi *Vita*, II. 40. Every head of a family had a room especially reserved for the reception of guests at any time — "Mensa eorum nunquam disarmatur, nunquam deferculatur; sed quilibet paterfamilias domum habet seorsum mundam et honestam, tantum refectioni vacantem."

[2] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 3.

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take them away. Tell the people of Wolgast, therefore, that they think not of serving any other God but me, for no other can profit them, and warn them that they suffer not these preachers who are coming to their town to live." With these words the figure vanished into the depths of the wood.

Its effect.

Trembling with alarm, the peasant staggered into the town, and announced to the people what had occurred. The excitement was intense. Again and again he was constrained to tell the tale to eager listeners, amongst whom, at length, stole in the priest himself. Pretending to disbelieve the tale, he bade the man repeat afresh every detail, and, when he saw the people were sufficiently moved, "Is not this," he burst forth, "what I have been telling you all the year long? What have we to do with any other god? Is not our own god justly angry with us? How can we, after all his benefits, ungratefully desert him for another? If we would not have him in righteous anger strike us dead, let us put to death these men, who would seduce us from our faith." Such was the tale which had roused all Wolgast against the missionaries. The woman, however, though at great risk, concealed her visitors for two days, till Otho made his appearance with a large body of troops and some of the chiefs from Usedom. Overawed by their appearance, and that of the members of the diet, the people did not venture to oppose his entrance, and he was enabled to open his mission as in other towns. But some of his clergy, ridiculing the alarming news of the hostility of the inhabitants which had been spread by Ulric and his companions, strayed carelessly into the town to view the idol temples, and were followed by a hostile mob, who threatened vengeance if they proceeded further. Some, therefore, made their way back to the bishop's quarters, but one, undeterred by danger, rushed into a temple which was dedicated to

Sacred shield in the temple of Gerovit.

Gerovit, the god of war, and, arming himself with the sacred shield which hung there[1], and which no one might touch on penalty of death, came forth amongst the people, who gave way on every side at this daring instance of impiety. A commotion ensued, but the heathen party found it useless to struggle against the wellknown determination of the Dukes; and, before he left, Otho had laid the foundation of another church, and administered baptism to considerable numbers.

Gützkow.

From Wolgast the bishop proceeded to Gützkow, where he found messengers from Albert, the Margrave of Bären, offering him any assistance he might require, and a larger military escort, if he deemed it necessary. This, however, was wisely declined. Gützkow was the site of one of the most splendid of the Slavonic temples, which the people repeatedly importuned the bishop to spare, or, at least, to convert into a Christian church. But Otho did not deem it an occasion for yielding. He feared the proximity of so prominent a memorial of their old superstitions would choke any seed he might sow, and therefore declared it must be razed to the ground. The people at length consented, and the bishop determined to reward their obedience by erecting a church of unusual size and splendour, and by dedicating it with an amount of pomp and ceremony which should far eclipse the glory of the pagan ritual. The foundations were laid, and at the consecration he preached so eloquently on the duty of dedicating the heart to God, and the utter uselessness of temples of wood and stone, if men did not devote themselves to works of mercy, forgiveness, and love, and avoid all rapine, fraud, and slave-dealing, that Mizlav, the governor of the district, who had already been baptized at the diet of Usedom,

Mizlav, the governor, releases his captives.

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 6. Compare the account of the huge cylindrical drum made of serpents' skins in the great temple of Mexico. Prescott, p. 213.

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agreed to release all the prisoners he held in confinement for debt. In reply to the bishop's exhortation to remember the words of the Lord's Prayer, "*forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors*," he exclaimed, "Here then, in the name of the Lord Jesus, I give these men their liberty, that, according to thy words, my sins may be forgiven, and that dedication of the heart, of which thou hast spoken, may be fulfilled in me[1]." Shortly afterwards an accident revealed the existence of a noble Danish youth, in one of his subterranean cells, who was detained there as a security for a debt of five hundred pounds which his father owed the governor. Otho hardly ventured openly to require another and so great a sacrifice from his new convert, but suggested to some of his clergy that they should intimate to him, how acceptable to himself, and much more to their common Lord, would be such a proof of obedience and mercy. It was a hard struggle, but at last the governor consented; the young man, laden with fetters, was brought forth from his cell, and in the presence of large numbers, who could not restrain their tears when they beheld his forlorn condition, was led to the altar of the newly erected church, where the governor solemnly pronounced his freedom, and his own hope, that as he had forgiven his father that debt, so his sins might be forgiven him at the last day. The example of one of so much influence was not lost upon the people, and many, according to their measure, endeavoured to prove the sincerity of their faith by works of mercy and justice.

Otho disarms the vengeance of Boleslav.

In the midst of such grateful signs of success, Otho was called to defend his Pomeranian converts from a threatened invasion of Boleslav. Though they had accepted a nominal profession of Christianity, their hatred of the Polish yoke, and the exactions it entailed, was as keen as ever. Interpreting the late relaxation of the tribute as a sign of

[1] Herbordi, *Vita*, III. 9.

weakness, they began, in many places, to reconstruct their forts, to make common cause with the heathen party, and fan the flame of disaffection. Boleslav invaded the country with a large army, and would have quelled the movement with remorseless vigour, had not Otho interposed, and at the head of a large body of clergy repaired to Stettin, represented strongly the fidelity of Wratislav, and thus appeased the Duke's anger. His influence with the Pomeranians was thus greatly increased, and he had his reward in the peace and prosperity of his newly founded Churches.

The island of Rügen.

One place alone withstood all his efforts. The island of Rügen, situated about a day's voyage from Usedom, was, as we have said, the Mona of the Baltic Slavonians, and hither all the lingering fanaticism of the native religion fled as to its last refuge. The bishop, indeed, would have gladly flung himself upon the island, and perished, if need be, in preaching to its benighted inhabitants; but one only of his clergy was found willing to share with him the dangerous enterprise, and repeated storms prevented their effecting a landing. At last the Pomeranian chiefs absolutely forbade his exposing himself to certain death, and much against his will he was forced to comply. He now determined to divide his followers, and to send them into different parts of the Pomeranian territory, while he himself selected Stettin for another visit. Here the heathen faction had again acquired their old ascendancy, and the uncertainty as to the way he would be received so discouraged his clergy, that none would volunteer to follow him. He determined, therefore, to set out alone, and stole away, after engaging in earnest prayer, without disclosing his intentions to any one. In the morning he was found missing, and then some of his clergy, ashamed of their own cowardice and alarmed for his safety, hurried in quest of him, and persuaded him to enter the place with them.

Another visit to Stettin.

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Their presence was sorely needed to rouse the spirits of the new converts. Irritated at the success which had attended the bishop's efforts, the pagan party, whose influence was unbounded with the lower orders, had succeeded in arousing a great commotion. A pestilence had broken out, and this was readily interpreted by the priests as a sign of the anger of the national gods. An assault was directed against the church which Otho had erected, and it was on the point of being razed to the ground, when one of the ringleaders in the movement was struck by a sudden fit, his hand stiffened, and his club fell. On his recovery he persuaded his fellow-townsmen, after this proof of the power of the Christian's God, to spare the church, and erect an altar to one of the national deities by the side of the Christian altar, that so the joint protection of both might be secured[1].

Reaction against the Missionaries.

Otho enters Stettin.

Such was the state of affairs when the bishop and his party entered the town. The incident just related had somewhat calmed the popular excitement, and now aid came in another unexpected shape. During his previous visit Otho had baptized one of the most influential chiefs, who, in a subsequent piratical expedition against the Danes, had been taken prisoner, and thrown into confinement[2]. One night, so his story ran, having fallen asleep after earnest prayer for release, he dreamt that bishop Otho appeared to him, and promised him a speedy liberation. On awaking he found the door of his cell unclosed, and taking advantage of this unlooked-for opportunity, he darted forth, escaped to the shore, and finding a boat,

[1] "Frustra, o cives, nitimur; Deus Christianorum fortis est, et nostra vi a nobis expelli non potest. Mihi autem consilium videtur, ut illum habeamus, et tamen antiquos deos nostros non dimittamus, et juxta illius aram nostris quoque diis aram constituamus, ut eos omnes pariter colendo, illum et istos pariter habeamus propitios." Herbordi *Vita*, III. 16.

[2] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 15. Ebbo, III. 2.

succeeded in once more reaching Stettin. He could ascribe his deliverance to nothing less than miraculous interposition, and therefore hung up the boat at the gates of the town, and recounted to the people the story of his dream and his escape, dwelling much on the manifest power of the Christian's God. His tale coming so soon after the late mysterious failure in the attack upon the church, made a deep impression on the susceptible minds of the people of Stettin, and predisposed many in favour of the bishop, who had now entered the town.

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But the heathen party determined to make one last effort to rouse the popular feeling against the authors of their own disgrace, and surrounding the church, whither the bishop and his clergy had repaired, threatened them with instant death. Had the bishop's courage now failed him, he would, in all probability, have fallen a victim to their fury. But he, undeterred, ordered the Cross to be uplifted, and at the head of his clergy chanting Psalms, went forth to meet his enemies. Half in awe and half in admiration of his courage, the mob desisted from the attack, and agreed that the bishop's life should be spared. Witstack, the chief who had escaped from captivity in Rügen, now redoubled his efforts to procure a favourable hearing for the missionaries, and persuaded the bishop to repair on the following Sunday to the market-place, and there boldly address the people from the steps where the magistrates were accustomed to make their proclamations. Otho complied with his suggestion, and had just concluded his sermon, when a heathen priest, blowing a trumpet, called on the people to make an end of the enemy of their gods. This was the most critical moment in Otho's life. The lances were already poised to pierce him through, when, again, the undaunted composure with which he confronted his adversaries, struck the bystanders with mysterious awe,

Violent attack upon him by the heathen party.

Courage of the bishop.

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and induced them to stay their hands. Otho seized the favourable moment, and advancing with his clergy to the church, flung down the altar which the heathen party had erected, and commenced the immediate repair of the edifice. A change now came over the feelings of the people. An assembly was summoned, and the acceptance or rejection of the faith was formally proposed. After a long discussion, which lasted from morning until midnight, it was resolved to offer no further opposition to the establishment of Christianity. Witstack informed the bishop of this resolution, and he, overjoyed at the favourable turn affairs had taken, received back all who had apostatized from the faith, and baptized all who were willing to receive that rite. His uniformly kind and conciliating disposition, joined to the readiness with which he redeemed numerous captives from the horrors of slavery, won for him the popular respect, which was not lessened when he once more interceded for the people with Boleslav, and succeeded in averting another threatened invasion. News of what occurred at Stettin soon reached Julin, and, on his second visit, Otho found himself able to consolidate his previous success, and secure the adherence of the wavering. From Julin he set out on a final visit to the Churches he had founded in Pomerania, and in the following year returned to Germany to attend the imperial diet, and thence repaired to his diocese of Bamberg. Though unable to revisit the scene of his labours, he did not forget the Churches he had founded. One of the last acts of his life evinced the interest he took in the welfare of his converts. Hearing that a number of Pomeranian Christians had been carried into captivity by a horde of heathen invaders, he bought up a quantity of valuable cloth at Halle, and sent it into Pomerania, with orders that part should be distributed among the chiefs to conciliate their goodwill in behalf of the native Christians, and part sold and applied to the

Formal acceptance of Christianity.

A.D. 1128.

ransom of the captives. Thus, as well as in other ways, he continued, so far as he was able, to superintend the Pomeranian Church until the year 1139, when he departed this life amidst the universal regret of all ranks in his diocese, to whom he had endeared himself by his uniform kindness and conciliatory habits[1].

[1] Herbordi *Vita*, III. 33 and 35, where we have the sermon preached at his funeral. Neander, VII. 41.

CHAPTER XV.

CONVERSION OF WENDLAND, PRUSSIA, AND LITHUANIA.

A.D. 1050—1410.

"Neque enim minus sacrorum attinet cultui publicæ religionis hostes expellere, quam cæremoniarum tutelæ vacare."—SAXO GRAMMATICUS.

CHAP. XV.

The Wends.

PREVIOUS to the efforts in Pomerania, which have formed the subject of the last Chapter, attempts had been made to win over other tribes belonging to the great Slavonic family to the Christian fold. In the countries bordering on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Saalè, dwelt the Wends. Hemmed in, on the one side, by the German Empire, on the other, by the Scandinavian Vikings, insatiably addicted to plunder, restless and impatient of control, they resented all efforts to curb their independent spirit. The clergy who came amongst them, being little acquainted with the Slavonic language, were regarded as the political agents of the German Emperors, and their work was too often identified with a design to perpetuate their national bondage[1]. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that such scanty seeds of knowledge as were sown amongst them fell on the stoniest ground, and having no depth of earth in which to strike root, speedily withered away[2]. Once and again, perhaps, a few monks, or an individual bishop, might acquire

[1] Adam. Brem. III. 24.

[2] Neander, V. 445. n.

a knowledge of the Slavonic tongue, but their efforts, though blessed with comparative success, were inappreciable amidst the general ignorance.

CHAP. XV. A.D. 936—968.

With the year 936, however, there dawned a somewhat brighter epoch. The Emperor Otho I., anxious for the conversion of his Wendish subjects, founded bishopries[1] amongst them, which he made subordinate to the metropolitan see of Magdeburg. For these posts he endeavoured to select men who had been tried in other fields of missionary labour, and Boso, bishop of Merseburg, one of his chaplains, learnt the Slavonic tongue, and even preached in it, finding his reward in the conversion of not a few of his hearers. He also translated some of the liturgical forms into the Slavonian dialect, but failed to make even the "Kyrie Eleison" intelligible to the people, who, caught by a somewhat similar jingle of sounds, changed it into *Ukrivolsa*, or "the alder stands in the hedge[2]."

Bishopries established by Otho I.

The partial success, however, of such prelates was soon rendered abortive by the cruel oppressions to which the Wends were subjected, and the persistency of the German clergy in levying ecclesiastical dues. A fresh rebellion, therefore, alternated with every fresh conquest achieved by the German empire, and ceaseless efforts were made to throw off a foreign yoke. Thus in 983 a Slavonic chief, Mistewoi, though he had embraced Christianity, and was attached to the Emperor's court, was so exasperated by personal injuries, that, summoning his countrymen to Rethre, the centre and home of the Slavonic idolatry, he unfurled the banner of rebellion, and wasted Northern Germany with fire and sword, razing to the ground every church and monastery that came in his way[3]. His grandson Gottschalk, though he, in like manner, had received a

Partial success.

Gottschalk.

[1] At Havelburg in 946, Aldenburg in 948, Brandenburg in 949, Misnia in 965, at Cizi, Meissen, and Merseburg in 968. Helmold. *Chron.* I. 12. Dollinger, III. 28. Hardwick, 127.

[2] Thietmar, *Chron.* Pertz, v. 755, where see Lappenberg's note.

[3] Helmold. *Chron.* I. 16.

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A.D. 936—968.

Christian training at Luneburg, stung to the quick at the base murder of his father, the Wendish prince Udo, flew to arms, gathered round him the Wendish youth, and spread havoc over Hamburg and Holstein. But one day, as he surveyed a district formerly covered with churches, but now lying waste and desolate, he is said to have been filled with remorse, and to have vowed to make atonement for the evil he had done, by propagating the faith he had learnt in his earlier years.

A.D. 1047.

Under his auspices arose, in 1047, a great Wendish kingdom, into which he invited a large staff of ecclesiastics from Bremen, and even expounded the Scriptures himself to his subjects, or interpreted to them in their own tongue the words of the foreign clergy. At this period, the palace of Albrecht[1], archbishop of Bremen, would appear to have been a harbour of refuge for ecclesiastics of all grades, whom the distractions of the times had driven from their dioceses. Here they were sure of a welcome, and in return for the kindness and hospitality of the archbishop, were ready to go forth at his bidding into such parts of the mission-field as promised the slightest hope of success. The good-will of Gottschalk naturally encouraged many to diffuse a knowledge of Christianity amongst his subjects; but though several churches and mission-stations were erected, the results of their exertions were only too speedily obliterated. The heathen party, who would never forgive their king for favouring a hostile faith, and allying himself with the German princes, at last rose in fury, stoned many of the clergy, murdered Ebbo the priest of Lutzen at the altar, and their king Gottschalk himself[2]. In this persecution perished one of the last representatives of the earlier Irish missionaries, in the person of John bishop of Mecklenburg. Leaving Ireland, he had travelled into Saxony,

Albrecht, archbishop of Bremen.

[1] *Historia Arch. Brem.* p. 93, ed. Lindenbrog.

[2] At Leutzen. Helmold. I. 22. Adam. Brem. III. 49.

and been hospitably received by the archbishop of Bremen[1]. By the latter he had been induced to undertake a share in the Slavonic mission, and was recommended to Gottschalk, who stationed him at Mecklenburg. His labours are said to have been blessed with unusual success, but he fell a martyr to his zeal. After being cruelly beaten with clubs, he was carried about as a show through the chief Slavonic towns, and at Rethre, when he would not deny the faith, suffered the loss of his hands and feet, and afterwards was beheaded. The body was flung into the street, and the head, fixed on a pole, was carried in triumph to the temple of Radegast, and there offered as an atonement to the offended deity[2]. This murder of Gottschalk and many of the clergy was the signal for a general revolt, in the midst of which nearly every vestige of the mission was swept away, and during the rule of Cruko, a chief determinately hostile to Christianity, the old idolatry regained its former ascendancy.

A.D. 1066. *John of Mecklenburg.*

After an interval, however, of somewhat more than fifty years, the Wendish Christian kingdom was re-established under a son of Gottschalk. But the period of its independence had passed away. Year after year it became, in consequence of its own internal dissensions, an easier prey to the princes of Germany; and, at length, Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear invaded the country, and while the latter founded the Margravate of Brandenburg, the former vanquished the Obotrites, and colonised the devastated districts with German settlers, who, assisted by foreign clergy, reorganised the Wendish sees. Amidst the ceaseless din of arms, the form of one true missionary is discernible, who strove to wield other weapons than those of the military oppressor, and to soften the hearts of the vanquished Wends.

Re-establishment of the Wendish kingdom.

A.D. 1125—1162.

[1] Lanigan, III. 318. IV. 6. Adam. Brem. III. 50. *Hist. Arch. Brem.* p. 93.

[2] Helmold. I. 22. Moreover, "in derisionem Salvatoris nostri etiam cruces a paganis truncati sunt."

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A.D. 1125—1162. *Vicelin.*

This was Vicelin. Born at Quernheim, on the banks of the Weser, he had been brought up at the flourishing school of Paderborn, whence he had been removed, to take charge of an educational establishment at Bremen, and after succeeding there, had studied for three years at the University of Paris[1]. Receiving orders, and attracted by intelligence of the need of missionary zeal in the Wendish kingdom, he betook himself, in the year 1125, to the archbishop of Bremen, who commissioned him to preach to the Slavonians. His first efforts at Lubeck were cut short by political disturbances[2]; afterwards, at the request of the inhabitants, he was stationed in the border-town of Faldera, or, as it was afterwards called, Newmünster, as being a convenient outpost for evangelizing the districts north of the Elbe. The neighbouring country lay waste and desolate, under the repeated ravages of war; and the impoverished inhabitants, despairing of aid and protection, had relapsed into their old idolatries. Vicelin, however, in the spirit of Severinus, settled down amongst them, and so won the hearts of many by his zeal, that a number of laymen and ecclesiastics rallied round him, and formed themselves into a fraternity[3], vowing to devote their lives to prayer, charity, and good works, to visit the sick, relieve the poor, and especially labour for the conversion of the Wends. For nine years this pious band toiled on amidst every kind of obstacle; and when the province of Holstein was visited, in 1134, by the Emperor Lothaire II. they could point to many proofs that their exertions had not been thrown away; and Lothaire was so gratified by the

Opens a mission at Faldera.

Lothaire.

[1] *Chron. Slav. Incerti Auctoris*, Ed. Lindenbrog, 1609. Hardwick, 226. n.

[2] And a heathen reaction. "Idolorum cultura reinvaluit, ita ut boves, oves, atque *homines* dæmonibus immolarentur. Christiani etiam crucifigebantur, eviscerabantur, et præter lucos et Penates, quibus agri et oppida redundabant, dii primi et præcipui erant isti, scil. Deus Prone in Oldenburg, Sywe dea Polabrorum, Radigast Deus Obotritorum." *Chron. Slav.* XVIII.

[3] Adopting the Rule of the "Præmonstratensians." Hardwick, 227.

success that had been achieved, that he committed to Vicelin the superintendence of the Churches of Lubeck and Segeberg[1], and encouraged him with no little earnestness to persevere in his good work.

Heathen reaction. A.D. 1137.

But it was only by slow and painful stages that the Wendish mission was to gain a secure footing. On the death of Lothaire, in 1137, the Wends rose again in rebellion against their German rulers, fell upon the churches and monasteries, and expelled every herald of the Cross from the country. Vicelin was constrained to fall back upon Faldera, and there, "persecuted, but not forsaken," "cast down, but not destroyed," he contrived for several years to animate the faith of his little flock. A brighter day dawned, when Adolph, count of Holstein, succeeded in partially restoring the German supremacy. His church at Segeberg was now restored to him; but in view of the too probable distractions, he removed the monastery he had established to Högelsdorf, where, assisted by Dittmar, a canon of Bremen, he presided over the little society, and on the occurrence of a grievous famine was enabled, by his welcome charity, to conciliate the affections of many who crowded round the gates of the monastery[2].

A.D. 1148. *Nominated to the see of Oldenburg.*

Meanwhile the wave of German conquest swept again over the districts whence it had been obliged to recede during the late rebellion, and the archbishop of Bremen found himself able to re-establish the ruined sees. Vicelin, therefore, in 1148, was nominated to the see of Oldenburg, and in spite of the anxieties consequent on a misunderstanding between the archbishop and Henry the Lion respecting the prerogative of investiture, he continued to set an eminent example of devotion to the true objects of missionary labour[3]. The worship of the god Prone, which

[1] *Chron. Slav.* cap. XVIII. Neander, VII. 46.

[2] See Neander, VII. 47.

[3] "Decimas non recipiebat, prohibente Duce, et quamvis temporalia non messuit, spiritalia tamen eis ratione sui officii seminavit." *Chron. Slav.* cap. XXII.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1154.

Establishment of Christianity amongst the Wends.

prevailed especially at Oldenburg, received a permanent check, a church was erected, and a considerable number of the people received the faith, over whom Vicelin continued to preside till his death, in the year 1154. Shortly afterwards a larger number of German colonists were introduced into the country, who displaced the original inhabitants, consolidated still further the influence of the German Empire, and consequently of, at least, a nominal form of Christianity.

A.D. 1168.

The island of Rügen.

About this time the island of Rügen, which we have already described as one of the chief fortresses of Slavonic heathenism, was opened up to Christianity and civilization. Ever since the conversion of the Pomeranians by bishop Otho, sanguinary feuds had arisen between the new converts and the pagan islanders. Resenting the apostasy of Stettin and Julin, they had menaced them again and again with the severest punishment, and in the terror of Otho's companions, when he proposed to visit the island, we saw a proof of their bitter zeal for their pagan creed. After frequent engagements the Danes at length took up the quarrel, and Waldemar, king of Denmark, assisted by the chiefs of Pomerania and of the Obotrites, succeeded in subjugating the island. The destruction of paganism was now possible, and bishop Absalom of Roeskilde, who, like Thangbrand of famous memory, appears to have united the ecclesiastical and military functions, undertook to found a Christian Church. After a long siege, the capital, Arcona, was captured, and finding it impossible to withstand the Danish arms, the inhabitants agreed to renounce their heathenism, and permit the introduction of Christianity, according to the usage of the Danish Church.

Destruction of the image of Svantovit.

The first care of Absalom was the destruction of the gigantic image of Svantovit, of whose temple Arcona was the seat. A vast crowd surrounded the sacred inclosure, expecting that a sudden death would be the inevitable

penalty of the party charged with the destruction of the image. The latter, undeterred by any superstitious fears, entered the temple, and removed the ragged[1] purple curtains suspended before the shrine. Then with axes they plied the feet of the enormous image, which appears to have been fastened to the platform on which it stood. After a few blows it fell with a crash to the ground, and at the same moment, according to the common Mediæval belief, the demon which haunted the temple was seen suddenly to dart from the shrine in the form of a black animal, and then as suddenly disappeared. The removal of the prostrate image was rendered difficult by reason of the awe wherewith even now it was regarded, and which deterred any native of the island from even touching it. At length certain captives and foreigners were induced to make the dangerous experiment[2]; ropes were fastened to the image, and amidst some lamentations, but far more mockery and laughter, it was dragged into the Danish camp, hewn to pieces, and converted into fuel for cooking the soldiers' provisions. Other temples were then attacked, and other images destroyed, amongst which was one[3] with seven heads and of such size that Absalom standing on its feet could scarcely reach the chin of the image with an axe he carried in his hand; another with five heads; a third with four. All these stood in temples contiguous to that sacred to Svantovit, and all shared the same fate. This done, the foundations were laid of several Christian churches,

Destruction of other images.

[1] "Frequens ædem purpura circumpendebat, nitore quidem prædita, sed situ tam putris, ut tactum ferre non posset." *Saxo Grammaticus*, Lib. XIV.

[2] "Oppidani simulacro urbe egerendo funes injicere jussi, cum id pristinæ religionis metu per seipsos exequi non auderent, captivis exterisque quæstum in urbe petentibus, ut illud ejicerent imperabant, ignobilium hominum capita divinæ iræ potissimum objectanda ducentes." *Ibid.*

[3] "Factum quercu simulacrum, quod Rugiævithum vocabant, ab omni parte magno cum deformitatis ludibrio spectandum patebat. Nam hirundines, quæ sub oris ejus lineamentis nidos molitæ fuerant, in ejusdem pectus crebras stercorum sordes congesserant." *Ibid.*

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1168.

which were served by ecclesiastics sent over by Absalom from Denmark, and sustained at his own cost. The distribution of these clergy in different parts of the island, added to the exemption of the people from ecclesiastical dues, considerably facilitated the reception of this Mona of the North within the advancing circle of Christendom.

Livonia.

Along the Eastern coast of the Baltic, and extending to the Gulf of Finland, dwelt the Lieflanders, a branch of the Slavonic family, though considerably intermixed with the Ugrian race of Finns. Grove-worship and tree-worship, the practice of magic and sorcery, the immolation of human victims prevailed amongst them as elsewhere, and they appear to have been sunk in the grossest ignorance and barbarism. Commercial relations with their Western neighbours first opened up their country to the exertions of the

A.D. 1186.

missionary, and, about the year 1186, there sailed to the Düna, in one of the merchant-ships of Bremen, a venerable

Meinhard.

priest, named Meinhard, who had been trained in one of Vicelin's monasteries at Segeberg. Obtaining permission from the Russian chief Vladimir of Plozk, to preach the Gospel, he founded the first Livonian Church at Yxkull, on the Düna, where the Bremen merchants had already erected a fort for the protection of their trade[1]. Meinhard found himself able to conciliate the good-will of the rude people by aiding them when attacked on one occasion by a hostile army, and instructing them how to erect a larger fort for their more permanent defence. Grateful for these benefits, not a few professed themselves ready to listen to the doctrines of the Gospel, and even to receive baptism.

Appointed to the see of Yxkull.

Repairing to Bremen, he announced to Hartwig, the archbishop, the result of his exertions, and was appointed to the see of Yxkull. But on his return to his diocese he found how greatly he had been deceived. No sooner had

[1] *Origines Livoniæ*, ed. Gruber, Frankfort, 1740, pp. 1—5. Döllinger, III. 278. Gieseler, III. 478.

their immediate wants been relieved than the fickle multitude relapsed into their old heathen rites, and the utmost efforts of Meinhard were fruitlessly spent in attempting to induce them to forsake their heathen errors. Meanwhile, Theodoric, a Cistercian monk, came to his aid, and began to cultivate some land in the neighbourhood of Yxkull. The superiority of his crops so provoked the jealousy of the Lieflanders that they determined to offer him in sacrifice to the gods[1]. Fortunately for the successful agriculturist, it was thought expedient to ascertain the will of Heaven before resorting to such extreme measures. The sacred horse was thrice led by the attendant priest over the rows of spears, and each time the omen was in favour of sparing his life. But an eclipse of the sun, which took place shortly afterwards, exposed him to similar peril, and he was accused of exercising sinister influences on the orb of day[2]. This, added to the success of his agricultural labours, rendered his stay in the country more and more hazardous, and he was obliged to fly, while Meinhard, after much fruitless labour, died at Yxkull, in 1196.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1186.

Jealousy of the Lieflanders.

A.D. 1191.

He was succeeded by Berthold, abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Lower Saxony. He thought to conciliate his fickle flock by a distribution of provisions and numerous presents, but he was equally unsuccessful in procuring any lasting results. When his stock of presents was exhausted a revulsion of feeling ensued, and, like Bernard at Wolgast, he was despised as a beggarly stranger, and bidden to leave the country unless he wished to be flung into the Düna[3]. In 1198, Berthold returned at the head of an army of Crusaders, whom Pope Innocent III. had summoned to

Berthold.

[1] "Livones Diis suis immolare proponunt, eo quod fertilior seges ipsius sit in agris, eorumque segetes inundatione pluviæ perirent." *Orig. Livon.* cap. 10.

[2] "A paganis plurima passus est vitæ pericula dicentibus ipsum solem comedere." *Orig. Livoniæ.*

[3] "Ipsum in *Holmenis* cœmeterii consecratione alii in ecclesia concremare; alii occidere; alii in Duna submergere concertabant; egestatem adventus sui causam esse improperabant." *Orig. Livoniæ*, II. 2.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1191.

his aid from the neighbouring countries. On his arrival he bade the Lieflanders at once surrender, and not provoke a useless contest. They undeterred bade him dismiss his forces, and enter peacefully on the duties of his diocese, and advised him to try and compel those, who had received Christianity, to remain faithful thereto, and induce others to adopt it by good words instead of violent blows. Thereupon a battle ensued, in which Berthold fell; but the rude pagans, unable to cope with a disciplined force, were defeated, and promised obedience to the demands of their conquerors, consenting in not a few instances to receive baptism. But the Crusaders had no sooner departed, than, as might naturally be expected, a reaction followed, the heathen party rose and wreaked their vengeance with terrible effect on the new converts and such clergy as had

A.D. 1198.

been left amongst them. Many also of those who had consented to be baptized now flung themselves into the Düna, and strove to efface the effects of their baptism by washing in its waters[1].

A.D. 1198—1299. *Albert von Apeldern.*

The successor of Berthold was Albert von Apeldern, of Bremen. He sailed up the Düna with a fleet of twenty-three ships, and a numerous army of Crusaders, and laid the foundations of the town of Riga, whither, as being a more secure locality, the bishopric of Yxkull was transferred. His efforts, however, to secure any permanent results were not more successful than those of his two predecessors, and, harassed by the incursions of neighbouring pagan tribes, he determined to establish a permanent military force, at once to defend his own diocese and overawe the Lieflanders into a reception of Christianity. Accordingly he established, with the concurrence of the Emperor Otho IV., and the approbation of the Pope, the

[1] "Dunæ fluminis aqua se perfundunt, dicentes; *Hic jam baptismatis aquam cum ipsa Christianitate removemus aqua fluminis, et fidem susceptam post Saxones recedentes transmittimus.*" *Oriy. Livon.* II. 8.

knightly *Order of the Sword.* Placed under the special protection of the Virgin Mary, the members of this Order bound themselves to hear mass frequently, to abstain from marriage, to lead a sober and chaste life, and to fight against the heathen, and in return for these services they were to have and to enjoy whatever lands they might wrest with their good swords[1] from their pagan adversaries. Remorseless war was now waged against the heathen Leiflanders for upwards of twenty years. In vain they courted alliance with other tribes, and strove to resist their oppressors. Castle after castle was erected in their land, under the protection of which German colonists, in ever-increasing numbers, took up their residence and extended German influences. From Riga, as a starting point, Albert von Apeldern directed the arms of his Crusaders against Esthonia, and into the neighbouring territories of Semgallen and Courland. Aided by Waldemar II., king of Denmark, he succeeded in imposing a nominal form of Christianity on the war-wasted districts, and the bishoprics of Revel, Dorpat, and Pernau were so many ecclesiastical fortresses strengthening the power of the Order of the Sword, and securing the fruits of their victories.

Order of the Sword.

To make up for the absence of a vernacular literature, curious methods were adopted for diffusing a glimmering knowledge of Christianity amongst the rude and half-civilized people of Livonia. Thus, at Riga, in the year 1204, a Miracle-Play was performed, representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments[2]; and an attempt was made to enlist the sympathy of the eye with events which the uninstructed ear of the pagans were unable to comprehend. While the exploits of Gideon, David, and Herod were visibly enacted before the wondering gaze of the

Miracle-Play at Riga.

[1] From their great swords they were called *Ensiferi;* their habit was a white cloak with two swords, Gules in Sautoir and a red Star.

[2] *Origines Livoniæ*, pp. 122 sq. Fabricii *Lux Evang.* p. 468. Gieseler, III. 478.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1230.

spectators, interpreters, from time to time, explained the meaning of the dramatical representations. But they do not appear to have been uniformly successful in their endeavours "to point the moral and adorn the tale." On one occasion[1], the spectators interpreting the scenes more literally than their instructors intended, fled in terror at the sight of the Midianites attacked by Gideon's army, and imagined that the next assault would be directed against themselves. During the following winter, Archbishop Andreas, of Lund, who had come into the country with the allied army of the Danes, set an example which many of his clergy would have done well to follow, by lecturing to the people, in their own tongue, on the Book of Psalms; and proofs were not wanting that, whenever an attempt was made in a meet and becoming spirit, the Leiflanders were not unwilling to listen to the words of those who addressed them in a language suitable to the faith they sought to propagate.

Prussia.

Meanwhile, in a country closely bordering on Livonia, armies of Crusaders succeeded by similar methods in forcing an entrance, which had long been persistently denied to the heralds of the Cross. This was Prussia, at this time inhabited chiefly by Slaves, with a Lithuanian and German admixture, and divided into eleven petty independent states[2]. Nowhere, perhaps, was the Slavonic Paganism more deeply rooted; nowhere had the Slavonic priesthood more undisputed sway. Besides a number of inferior divinities, and the elements of nature[3], three gods were held in particular

Organised polytheism.

[1] "Iste autem ludus quasi præambulum, præludium et præsagium erat futurorum malorum. Nam in eodem ludo erant bella utpote *David, Gideonis, Herodis.* Erat et doctrina Veteris et Novi Testamenti quia nimirum per bella plurima, quæ sequuntur, convertenda erat gentilitas, et per doctrinam Veteris et Novi Testamenti erat instruenda, qualiter ad verum pacificum et ad vitam perveniat sempiternam." *Orig. Livoniæ.*

[2] Peter de Dusburg, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, p. 72. Æneas Sylvius *de Statu Europæ*, cap. XXIX.

[3] "Omnem creaturam pro Deo coluerunt, sive Solem, Lunam, et stellas, tonitrua, volatilia, quadrupedia etiam, usque ad bufonem. Habuerunt etiam lucos, campos et aquas sacras, sic quod secare, aut

veneration, Percunos, the god of thunder; Potrimpos, the god of corn and fruits; Picullos, the god of the infernal regions. The face of the first was expressive of extreme anger, his head was wreathed with a crown of flames; the second was represented by a beardless youth, and wore a chaplet of green leaves and ears of corn; the face of the third was pale, the beard snow-white, the eyes looked downwards on the ground[1]. Every town and village had a larger or smaller temple; but the sanctuary of the nation was at Romove, where also were the sacred oaks, and the veiled statues of the gods. Here, also, resided the chief pontiff, who was held in such veneration, that, not only himself or any of his connections, but a herald bearing his staff or other insignia was accounted sacred[2]. The other members of the hierarchy were required to live in celibacy, and possessed unbounded influence over the people, of whom, at particular seasons, they exacted human sacrifices, especially in honour of Picullos and Potrimpos. Every native of the country was permitted to have three wives, who were regarded as slaves, and on the death of their husbands were expected to ascend the funeral pile or otherwise put an end to their lives. Infanticide[3], especially that of female children, was common, so much so that all the daughters in a family, save one, were invariably put to death. Children also that were deformed, aged persons, and all whose recovery was doubtful, were put out of the way; and male and female slaves were burnt with the corpse of their masters, as also his horses, hounds, hawks, and armour[4].

Influence of the Slavonic hierarchy.

Infanticide.

agros colere, vel piscari ausi non fuerant in eisdem." Peter de Dusburg, p. 79.

[1] Hartknoch's *Dissertations*, VII.

[2] Hartknoch, *Dissert.* VI.

[3] In the *Origines Livoniæ*, p. 31, we have an instance of fifty women hanging themselves on the death of their husbands.

[4] "Cum nobilibus mortuis arma, equi, servi et ancillæ, vestes, canes venatici, aves rapaces, et alia quæ spectant ad militiam urerentur. Cum ignobilibus comburebatur id quod ad officium spectabat." *Chronicon Prussiæ*, p. 80. On serpent worship in Prussia, see Hartknoch, *Dissert.* VIII.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 997.

Adalbert bishop of Prague.

The opening of the thirteenth century saw the Prussians still fanatically addicted to this organised system of paganism, and such missionaries as attempted their conversion expiated their temerity with their lives. One of the earliest and most eminent of these was Adalbert, bishop of Prague, who sailed to Dantzic in the year 997, escorted by some soldiers lent him by Boleslav I., duke of Poland. His landing was not opposed, and imprudently dismissing the vessel with her crew, he rowed in a little boat, accompanied only by a priest named Benedict, and one of his own pupils, to the mouth of the river Pregel. On attempting, however, to land, the natives fell upon them with clubs, and Adalbert, struck with an oar while chanting the Psalter, fell stunned to the bottom of the boat. With much difficulty they made their way to the opposite bank, and landed in the territory of Samland. Here they encountered the chief of one of the villages, who summoned the inhabitants, and bade the missionaries explain the object of their visit. Adalbert complied, and told them who he was, and whence he had come. On this his hearers exclaimed, "Away with such fellows from our land; these are they who cause our crops to fail, our trees to decay, our herds to sicken. Depart from us, or expect instant death[1]." Therefore Adalbert and his companions left to make their way to the coast. The bishop himself was inclined to propose their lingering in the country, and thought if they suffered their hair to grow, and laying aside their clerical garb[2] took to working with their own hands, they might hope

[1] Brunonis *Vita S. Adalberti*, Pertz, *Script.* VI. p. 608.

[2] "Habitus corporum et horror vestium, ut video, paganis animis non parum nocet. Unde, si placet, vestimenta mutemus clericalia, pendentibus capillis surgere sinemus; tonsæ barbæ comas prodire permittamus: forsan non agniti melius habemus salutem operari; similes eorum effecti, familiarius eo habitamus colloquimur et convivimus: laborando quoque propriis manibus, victum quæramus ad instar Apostolorum. Interea, prosperante misericordia Salvatoris, fit aliquid hac arte ac fraude, ut opinio se fallat; evangelizandi occasio arte venit." Ibid.

to calm the suspicions of the people, and be enabled in time to take more decisive steps. But such ideas were not destined to be realized. Plunging into a thick wood they pursued their journey, and, halting to take some refreshment, fell asleep, and woke to find themselves surrounded by a troop of the natives, who clamoured for their lives. The bishop had barely time to exhort his companions to steadfastness, when seven lances were plunged into his body. CHAP. XV. A.D. 997. *Martyrdom of Adalbert.*

Another attempt to carry the Word of Life into this dangerous region was made by Bruno, chaplain of the Emperor Otho III. Instigated, it is said, to undertake the mission by the sight at Rome of a picture of St Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, he procured a commission from Silvester II., empowering him to preach to the heathen Prussians, and was consecrated a regionary bishop at Magdeburg. With eighteen companions he entered Prussia, in the year 1008, and before twelve months had expired, he had shared, together with all his retinue, the fate of the bishop of Prague. After the death of Bruno a period of nearly two centuries elapsed, during which the national repugnance to Christianity was still further intensified by the long wars with Poland. At length, in 1207, Gottfried, a Polish abbot, with one of his monks, penetrated into the country, and had succeeded in achieving a faint amount of success, when his companion fell a victim to the hostility of the people, and he himself was obliged to give up in despair. *Bruno.* A.D. 1008. A.D. 1207. *Abbot Gottfried.*

Three years afterwards, Christian, a Pomeranian monk, from a monastery near Dantzic, accompanied by several brethren, and accredited with the express authority of Innocent III., arrived with the determination of making another attempt. For a space of four years he was enabled to prosecute his task in peace, and then set out for Rome, accompanied by two converted chiefs, the firstfruits of his A.D. 1210. *Labours of the monk Christian.*

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1214.

zeal. The Pope received them cordially, and conferred upon Christian the episcopate over the new community[1]. He also wrote to various Cistercian abbots in the country, desiring them to aid instead of impeding the efforts of the new bishop, and to the Polish and Pomeranian dukes, inveighing strongly against the oppressive burdens they had laid upon the Prussian converts, which only tended to irritate the people, and prejudice them against the Gospel.

Pagan reaction.

Thus accredited, Christian once more returned to his diocese. But the suspicions of the heathen party had been aroused, and the new converts themselves groaned under the taxes and imposts exacted from them by the authorities of Poland and Pomerania. The consequence was a general reaction. The Prussians rose in fury, destroyed nearly three hundred churches and chapels, and put many Christians to the sword[2]. Other agencies were now invoked by

A.D. 1219.

Bishop Christian, and the "Order of Knights Brethren of Dobrin," formed on the model of that which we have already encountered in Livonia, were bidden to coerce the people into the reception of Christianity. But they failed to achieve the task assigned them, and then it was that the famous "Order of Teutonic Knights," united with the "Brethren of the Sword" in Livonia, concentrated their energies on this European Crusade. Originally instituted for the purpose of succouring German pilgrims in the Holy Land, the "Order of Teutonic Knights," now that the old Crusades had become unpopular, enrolled numbers of eager adventurers determined to expel the last remains of heathenism from the face of Europe. After the union of the two Orders had been duly solemnized at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, in the year 1238, they entered the Prussian territory, and for a space of nearly fifty years continued a series of remorseless wars against the wretched inhabitants.

Order of Teutonic Knights.

A.D 1238.

[1] *Chronicon Prussiæ*, p. 29. Hartknoch, *Dissert.* XIV.

[2] *Chronicon Prussiæ*, II. c. 1.

Slowly but surely they made their way into the very heart of the country, and secured their conquests by erecting castles, under the shadow of which rose the towns, of Culm, Thorn, Marienwerder, and Elbing, which they peopled with German colonists. A.D. 1238.

Supremacy of the Order.

The authority of the Order knew scarcely any bounds. Themselves the faithful vassals of the Pope, they exacted the same implicit obedience, alike from the German immigrant, or colonist, and the converted Prussians. Baptism was made the one condition of admission to the enjoyment of any rights, individual or social[1]. The baptized proselyte might regard himself as a freeman, might boast that, in some sense, he was a man. The Prussian who still persisted, in spite of being conquered, to adhere to his old superstitions, forfeited all claim to personal freedom, and was as much the property of his master as his horse or his hound.

Ecclesiastical organisation.

In 1243 the conquered lands were divided by the Pope into three bishoprics, Culm, Pomerania, and Ermeland, each of which was again divided into three parts, one being subject to the bishop, and the other two to the brethren of the Order[2]. With this subdivision there gradually sprang up a number of churches and monasteries, and the Prussians began to discontinue many of their heathen customs, such as sacrifice to idols, infanticide, the practice of polygamy, and the burning of their dead. In return for these concessions, a greater degree of personal liberty was guaranteed to them, the Polish laws were introduced, and the Popes, who, to the utmost of their power, befriended the new converts, enjoined an equable distribution of the country into parishes, impressed upon the clergy the duty of instructing the people, and on the knights a due regard to the gentler precepts of the Gospel. In 1251 schools began to be erected, though numbers of the Prussian children were sent for instruction

[1] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, v. 404.

[2] Döllinger, III. 282.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1260.

into Germany, and especially to Magdeburg[1], and numerous Dominican monks laboured for the more effectual conversion of the people.

Paganism, however, was not yet extinct. In 1260 the knights were defeated by the Lithuanians, and eight of the order, who were taken prisoners, were burnt alive in honour of the gods. This was the signal for another rising, and the Prussians wasted with fire and sword far and wide, murdered the clergy, and destroyed the monasteries and churches. The knights thereupon retaliated, the favourable terms granted to the Prussians in 1249 were cancelled, and a sanguinary war, which lasted for twenty-two years, and in which the knights were aided by armies of Crusaders sent them by the Popes, closed the struggle between the

A.D. 1283.

rival faiths. Many of the chiefs were deprived of their freedom, and reduced to the condition of serfs, and the bulk of the people, in sheer despair, consented to recognize the sovereignty of the Order. Thus dominant, the knights maintained their supremacy both in Church and state; the bishops were dependent on them, and in most cases were selected from amongst themselves, and were even prohibited from pronouncing censures on any member of the Order, or interfering in their administration of affairs.

Lithuania.

The only province of much importance now remaining unreclaimed from heathenism was that of Lithuania, whose rebellion against the Teutonic knights we have just mentioned. The same gross form of polytheism prevailed here, that so long held their Prussian kinsmen in its dark bondage, and assumed even a more degraded form. Not only the heavenly bodies, and the God of Thunder, but even serpents[2] and lizards were regarded with veneration,

[1] Döllinger, III. 284. Hardwick, 232.

[2] "Primi quos adiit ex Lituanis serpentes colebant, pater familias suum quisque in angulo domus serpentem habuit, cui cibum dedit, ac sacrificium fecit, in fæno jacenti." Æneas Sylvius *de Statu Europæ*, cap. XXVI. p. 418.

and approached with human sacrifices[1]. Mindove, a native chieftain, is said to have embraced the Christian faith as early as 1252; and Vitus, a Dominican monk, dispatched by Pope Innocent IV., attempted to fan the spark into a flame, but met with little encouragement. From this time till the year 1386, not a ray of light appears to have penetrated the darkness of their heathenism. In this year, however, one of the Lithuanian chiefs Jagal[2], whose predatory incursions had hitherto been the terror of the Poles, proposed to the latter to espouse the young queen Hedwige, and thus unite the two countries, agreeing at the same time to introduce Christianity amongst his own people. The arrangement was accepted, and the Lithuanian chief was baptized at Cracow, and assumed the name of Vladislav. Thence, accompanied by his queen, and many Polish ecclesiastics, he repaired to Wilna, where a decree of the diet formally accepted Christianity as the national faith[3]. Under the superintendence of the archbishop of Gnesen, and the Polish clergy headed by Vasillo, a Franciscan monk, and the first bishop of the new see of Wilna, the more public rites of heathenism were abolished. The idols were destroyed, the groves cut down, the sacred fires extinguished[4], the holy serpents and lizards killed, the Lithuanians at first looking on with horror, and then acquiescing complacently in the destruction of the objects of their former veneration. In

[1] "Dracones adorant cum volucribus, quibus etiam vivos litant homines, quos a mercatoribus emunt, diligenter omnino probatos, ne maculam in corpore habeant." Adam Brem. *de Situ Daniæ*, Döllinger, III. 286.

[2] Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 455.

[3] Döllinger, III. 286. Hardwick, p. 335.

[4] "Post hos gentem reperit, quæ sacrum colebat ignem, eumque perpetuum appellabat. Sacerdotes templi materiam ne deficeret ministrabant, hos super vita ægrotantium amici consulebant, illi noctu ad ignem accedebant, mane vero consulentibus responsa dantes, umbram ægroti apud ignem sacrum se vidisse aiebant. Quæ cum se calefaceret, signa vel mortis vel vitæ ostentasset, victurum ægrotum facies ostensa igni, contra si dorsum ostentasset, morituram portendit." Æneas Sylvius *de Statu Europæ*, cap. XXVI.

CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1386.

promoting the change, no one was more conspicuous than the grand-duke himself. He interpreted to the people in the native language, the meaning of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other formularies, which they could never have learnt from the Polish clergy. Thus slenderly instructed, "and attracted," says Döllinger, "by the present of a white woollen garment[1]," the people were either conducted in troops to the banks of the rivers, and there baptized, or sprinkled in large numbers at once, receiving the same Christian name of Paul or Peter.

A.D. 1413.

About thirty years afterwards, a Lithuanian priest named Withold, communicated such seeds of truth, as his own superficial acquaintance with the faith enabled him, to the Samaites, who have been regarded as more or less identical with the barbarous Samoeids, who now dwell in the cold and dreary regions of the Arctic circle[2]. Their conversion had been already sought by Prussian priests, while the power of the Teutonic knights was at its height, but the results had been barely perceptible. The exertions of Withold, supported by the influence of the grand-duke Jagal, were more successful, the town of Wornie, or Miedniki, was built, and here Withold fixed his episcopal see.

[1] Döllinger, III. 286.

[2] Hardwick, p. 336. Among the Lapps, though successful missions had been inaugurated as early as 1335, Christianity did not become the popular religion till the 16th and 17th centuries.

CHAPTER XVI.

MISSIONS TO THE SARACENS AND THE MONGOLS.

A.D. 1200—1400.

"Multos equites video ire ad sanctam terram ultramarinam, et putare ipsam acquirere per vim armorum, et in fine omnes consumuntur, quin veniant ad id, quod putant; unde videtur mihi, quod acquisitio illius sanctæ terræ non debeat fieri, nisi eodem modo quo Tu et Tui Apostoli eam acquisistis, scilicet amore et orationibus et effusione lacrymarum et sanguinis."—RAYMUNDUS LULLUS.

Limitation of the Church.

A.D. 733.

AMONG the letters of the great Apostle of Germany to numerous friends in England, is one addressed to the abbess Eadburga, in which he dissuades her from a pilgrimage to Rome because of the constant incursions of the Saracens[1]. Meagre, doubtless, were the tidings the ardent missionary received respecting the limitation of the Church in the distant East, but nearer home events had occurred, calculated to excite in his mind deep musings as to the designs of Providence. Bursting from its home in the Arabian deserts, the wave of Mahometanism had swept on unchecked over Syria and Egypt, over Persia and Northern Africa[2], nor stopping here, had inundated the length and breadth of Spain, save only a little Gothic kingdom in the inaccessible fastnesses of Asturia. Restless even here, the Moslem warriors had crossed the Pyrenees, and the

[1] Ep. XXXII. A.D. 733.

[2] The Saracens conquered Jerusalem in 637, Syria in 639, Egypt in 640, Persia in 651, North Africa in 707, Spain in 711, and after being checked by Charles Martel in 732, threatened the interior of Italy in 734.

CHAP. XVI. A.D. 733.

sword of Charles Martel alone had saved the Frankish Churches from the fate already undergone by those of Augustine and of Cyprian. Strange, indeed, and sad must have been the reflections of the early pioneers of Christian civilization among the Teutonic nations, when they heard that Churches which Apostles had planted had been swept away before the austere monotheism of Arabia, that from cities where a Paul or an Apollos had sown and planted, there now went up to heaven the cry, "God is One, and Allah is His prophet." Little could these simple-minded men understand, that this sudden revolution was no less a judgment on the decrepit Eastern Churches, for their disunion and moral corruption[1], than a means destined in the hands of Providence to minister, and that not ineffectually, to the ultimate civilization of Europe.

Effect of the Saracenic conquests on Christian missions.

It does not, indeed, fall within our plan to trace the progress of the Saracenic conquests, but on the history of Mediæval Missions they undoubtedly exercised a potent influence. For a time they seemed to change the very spirit of Christianity, taught it to forget of "what spirit" it was, and to imagine that the legitimate weapons of its warfare were not "spiritual" but "carnal[2]." The gradual rise of this new phase of thought and feeling, was nowhere more perceptible than in the Iberian Peninsula, where after their repulse by the sword of Charles Martel, the Saracens settled down in great numbers, and speedily attained a higher degree of civilization than in almost any other part of the world[3].

A.D. 850.

Till the year 850, the Spanish Church could not fairly complain of intolerance or persecution, on the part of the Saracen conquerors. Christians rose to high positions in

[1] See the quotation from Prideaux in Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 260. Hardwick's *Middle Ages*, p. 34 and note.

[2] See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 49.

[3] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 212.

the court of Cordova, and even ecclesiastics and monks found ample scope for their acquaintance with Arabic and Latin, as interpreters during negotiations with Christian princes. Intermarriages even were by no means uncommon, and produced their usual results, the husband converting the wife, or the wife the husband[1]. Before long, however, there arose rivalry and suspicion. The Christian could, indeed, worship God without let or hindrance, but felt aggrieved at having to pay a monthly tax for the privilege. He could bury his dead with the customary rites, but not without the frequent risk of insult and abuse, which it was dangerous to avenge, seeing that the Moslem law had declared death the penalty of striking one of the faithful, or blaspheming the prophet. Under these circumstances, the great majority of the Spanish Christians deemed it their duty to abstain from all acts of violence, to cultivate the friendship of those in power, and to keep within the limits of that liberty of conscience which was conceded to them.

Rising jealousies.

But there were not wanting those who took a different view of the course they ought to pursue. "*Whoso is ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before the angels of God*[2]," was a text very frequently in their mouths, and one which they often quoted against a half-hearted policy, and any concessions to the "infidel." They were wont to taunt their "weaker brethren" with being afraid to make the sign of the Cross, or to speak of Christ as God in the presence of the unbelievers. If they did mention Him, it was insinuated that they degraded His attributes, by speaking of Him merely as the Word and the Spirit. "Spotted leopards" was their favourite term of reproach for such weak Christians. When *they* heard the evening cry from the mosque, "God is One, and Allah is His prophet," they crossed themselves on the forehead, and breathed

Spirit of intolerance.

[1] Neander, v. 462. Kurtz, 315.

[2] St Matt. viii. 38.

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 850.

forth with a sigh the words of the Psalmist, "*Keep not still silence, O God, for, lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate Thee have lifted up their head*[1]." But about the middle of the ninth century, it became clear that the pent-up animosities and jealousies of the rival parties could not be much longer restrained. A spark only was needed to kindle the flame. A priest, named Perfectus, was, on one occasion, on his way to Cordova to purchase some necessaries for his convent, when he fell in with a party of Moslems. Their respective religious tenets became the subject of conversation, and when the monk was asked his opinion respecting "the Prophet," he, with some unwillingness, informed his enraged hearers, that he regarded him as no other than one of the false prophets, whose appearance augured the speedy coming of the Last Day. An outbreak of religious phrenzy was the natural result of this plain-spoken avowal, in the midst of which Perfectus and several others were put to death. This was the signal for the greatest excitement. Multitudes came forth, and, urged on by the exhortations of their monastic teachers, rushed to the Moslem tribunals, blasphemed the Prophet, and paid the penalty of their rashness by suffering a violent death[2]. The rage for martyrdom now became a passion. With the utmost difficulty the wiser section succeeded in inducing their brethren to curb their enthusiasm, and recognise a difference between such rashness and the calm self-possession of the early Christian martyrs. For a time their counsels prevailed; peace was restored, and the Spanish Church reposed in the enjoyment of their religious freedom.

Gradual rise of hostilities.

But such a state of things could not last, and when the Spaniards began to assail their invaders, and emerging from their native fastnesses in Asturia pushed their con-

[1] Psalm lxxxiii. 1, 2.
[2] Neander, v. 463. Hardwick, *Church History*, p. 143.

quests slowly but surely, first to the Douro, and then to the Tagus[1], the long pent-up sources of religious animosity burst forth into undisguised hatred, and whetted only too keenly the swords of the Spanish Christian and the Arabian Infidel[2]. We can imagine, then, the effect, when stories began to circulate, throughout the length and breadth of Europe, of the cruelties practised on the Christian pilgrims by the Moslems, especially during the supremacy of the barbarous Seljukians. It only needed the frenzied hermit Peter to sound the tocsin of war, and thousands were ready to go forth and avenge the insulted symbol of their Faith, and rescue the Holy City from the hand of the Infidel. Deeper and deeper, as years rolled on, the crusading spirit[3] penetrated into the very heart of society, animating the solitary monk no less than the follower of Godfrey, the peaceful burgher no less than the mailed soldier. Before the fiery propagandism of the Crusades, the gentler spirit of true missionary enterprise fled away. From time to time, however, proofs were not wholly wanting, on the one hand, of the great results, which might perhaps have been produced, had a holy life and true zeal more generally characterized the champions of the Cross in their dealings with their Moslem foes; and, on the other, of the origin of missions to the more distant East, in consequence of the knowledge acquired by the Crusaders of lands hitherto almost unknown.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 850.

A.D. 1085.

Let us first speak of a few instances of missionary zeal for the conversion of the Saracens.

Francis of Assisi in the camp at Damietta.

In the year 1219 the champions of the Cross, numbering two hundred thousand Franks, were encamped under the walls of Damietta[4]. It was the tenth year of the

[1] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 287.

[2] Buckle's *Civilization*, II. 14.

[3] First Crusade 1096, second 1146, third 1189, fourth 1217, fifth 1228, sixth 1248. Kurtz, p. 375.

[4] Gibbon, v. 496.

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A.D. 1219.

Franciscan era, and the founder of the Franciscan order was in the camp. He had just returned from the second general Chapter, and had seen five thousand mendicants marching in long procession from the Porzioncula to Perugia[1]. The cardinal Ugolino had quailed before the stern and menacing words in which the "Spouse of Poverty" had rebuked his attempt to weaken the allegiance of his followers by tempting proffers of mitres, and even of the purple. To turn their thoughts into other channels, the "General Minister" proposed, as an object worthy of their ambition, the spiritual conquest of the world, and had reserved for himself the seat of war between the champions of the Cross and of the Crescent. To quell the unutterable confusion of the Christian camp itself would have been worthy of all his efforts, but he burnt with an ardour, which nothing could quench, to go alone and unattended into the Moslem camps, and attempt the conversion of the Soldan himself. After spending many hours in rapt devotion, he went forth in the squalid robe of a mendicant, and crossed the boundary between the two camps chanting the words of the Psalmist, "*Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me.*" Apprehended by the Saracen outposts, he was carried to the tent of their leader and asked the reason of his coming. "I am sent," he replied, "not of man, but of God, to shew thee the way of salvation." The Soldan, we are assured by an eye-witness, received the brave monk with respect, and not only permitted him for several days to preach before himself and his officers, but listened to his words with attention, and sent him back to the Christian camp, saying, "Pray for me, that God may enlighten me to hold fast that faith which is most acceptable in His sight." Other authorities[2] inform us that, when

Confronts the Sultan of Egypt.

[1] Sir J. Stephen's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, I. 121.

[2] See *Acta Sanctorum, Oct.* 2, p. 699. And compare Neander, VII. 81 and

asked by the Sultan to remain in his tent, the intrepid preacher replied, "Yes, I will remain, if thou and thy people will become converts for the love of the Saviour my Master. If thou art unwilling, kindle a furnace[1], and I and thy priests will enter it together; and let God determine whether the true faith is on thy side, or on mine." The Imauns trembled, and the Champion of the Crescent allowed that none of his priests would be willing to face such an ordeal. "Only promise, then," replied the other, "to become a Christian, and I will enter the fire alone. If I come forth unharmed, acknowledge Christ; but even should I be burnt, conclude not that my faith is false, but that on account of my sins I am unworthy to receive this honour." The Sultan courteously declined the proposal for fear of an uproar, and dismissed the enthusiastic monk with ample presents. The eloquent author of *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* remarks, that the fact that "the head of the missionary was neither bartered for a gold besant by the soldiers, nor amputated by the scimitar of their leader, may be explained either by the Oriental reverence for supposed insanity, or by the universal reverence for self-denying courage[2]." For ourselves we should be far more inclined to ascribe it to the latter reason; the more so as the Bishop of Acco, then present with the army, assures us that the Saracens were far from unwilling to listen to the preaching of the followers of St Francis, so long as they confined their exhortations to the doctrines

notes with Sir J. Stephen, I. 126. "The appeal to a judgment of God," says Neander, "is undoubtedly in the spirit of Francis, and the Sultan might perhaps have returned such an answer to it. At all events, the agreement of the accounts in the essential point vouches for the truth of the fact lying at the bottom."

[1] Compare the story of Bernard the Spanish missionary in Pomerania, chapter XIV, and that of Bishop Poppo, Chapter XI.

[2] For a somewhat similar instance of the "magnetic power of earnestness and simplicity" see the account of the dispute between an heathen philosopher and an aged bishop at the council of Nicæa, Stanley's *Eastern Church*, 115. Another in the life of St Francis Xavier is given in Grant's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 272.

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of the Gospel, and did not, in a spirit utterly alien from that of the greatest of Christian missionaries, as displayed in a certain memorable interview on Mars' Hill, resort to the language of coarse abuse and fanatical declamation[1].

The spirit of the Apostle of the Gentiles, rare at all times, must have been especially rare at this period, and, therefore, it is truly cheering to come across the record of one, who even now had not forgotten that there was a voice more potent in appealing to the hearts of men than the fire, the earthquake, or the storm. Such an one invites our notice in the person of the once famous, now almost forgotten Raymund Lull, whose life and labours mark an era in the missionary history of the Middle Ages.

Raymund Lull.

This celebrated man was born of noble parents at Palma, the capital of Majorca, about the year 1236[2]. His father had served with great distinction in the army of Don James, king of Arragon, and the boy was at an early age introduced to the court, where he rose to the post of seneschal[3]. The traditions of his youth present him to us as gifted with great mental accomplishments, as an ardent cultivator of poetry, but addicted to sensual pleasures. He married, but this did not restrain him from gratifying unlawful passions, and the theme of his poetical effusions was seldom any other than the joys of lawless love. "I see, O Lord," he says in his *Contemplations*, "that trees bring forth every

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Recklessness of his youth.

[1] "Saraceni autem omnes fratres minores tam diu de Christi fide et evangelica doctrina prædicantes libenter audiunt, quousque Mahometo, tanquam audaci et perfido, prædicatione sua manifeste contradicunt. Ex tunc autem eos impie verberantes, et nisi Deus mirabiliter protegeret pæne trucidantes, de civitatibus suis expellunt." J. de Vitry, in the *Hist. Occident.* c. 32, quoted in Neander, VII. 82.

[2] *Vita B. Raymundi Lulli Mart. Acta Sanctorum*, June 30, p. 644. Wadding, *Annales Franciscor.* IV. 422 (ed. 1732). A list of his works occupies nearly five folio pages in Wadding. Humboldt (*Cosmos*, II. 629, ed. Bohn) describes him as "at once a philosophical systematizer, and an analytic chemist, a skilful mariner, and a successful propagator of Christianity."

[3] "Raymundus, Senescallus mensæ regiæ Majoricarum." In the *Acta SS.* we have an elaborate excursus on the duties of this office.

year flowers and fruit, each after their kind, whence mankind derive pleasure and profit. But this it was not with me, sinful man that I am; for thirty years I brought forth no fruit in this world, I cumbered the ground, nay, was noxious and hurtful to my friends and neighbours[1]." But when he had reached his thirtieth year, there arose within him a mighty struggle, the spirit and the flesh, his lower and his higher nature strove with one another. The story of St Augustine under the fig-tree at Milan was re-enacted at Palma. One day, as the Seneschal was sitting on his couch and composing an erotic song, there suddenly appeared to him the image of Christ hanging on the cross. So deep was the impression made that he could write no more. Some days passed away, and he was again similarly engaged, when once more the same Divine Image presented itself, and he was fain before that spectacle of Divine Self-sacrifice to lay aside his pen. This time[2] the effect was not so transitory; again and again it seemed to return, and he could not resist the thought, that there was a special message meant for himself, that the Saviour of men was thus inviting him to conquer his lower passions, and to devote himself entirely to His service. But then arose the doubt, how can I, defiled with impurity, rise and enter on

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Mental struggles.

[1] "Video, Domine, quod arbores omni anno producant flores et fructus, per quos lætificantur et sustentantur homines; sed non est ita de me peccatore, quia triginta annis non fui in hoc mundo fructuosus, immo fui nocivus meis et meis amicis: igitur, cum arbor, quæ est sine intellectu et ratione, sit fructuosior quam ego fuerim, valde verecundor et me reputo valde culpabilem." Raymundus Lullus, *Lib. Contempl. in Deum*, IX. 257, ed. 1740. And again, "Tibi Domine Deus, ago multas gratias tuus servus et tuus subditus, quia video magnam differentiam esse inter opera, quæ solebam facere in mea juventute, et ea, quæ facio nunc in declinatione meæ senectutis; non, sicut tua omnia mea opera erant in peccatis et in societate vitiorum, ita nunc spero per tuam gratiam, quod mea opera et meæ considerationes et mea desideria sint ad dandam gloriam et laudem tua gloriosa essentia divina." *Lib. Contempl.* CVI. 30.

[2] Or, as it seems, the vision appeared oftener, "tertio et quarto successivo diebus interpositis aliquibus, Salvator, in forma semper qua primitus, apparet." *Acta SS.* Another version of the story of his conversion is given in the *Vita Secunda Acta SS.* June 30, p. 669, and Wadding, IV. 422.

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a holier life? Night after night he lay awake, a prey to doubt and despondency. At length occurred the thought, "Christ is meek, and full of compassion and tender mercy. He invites all to come to Him, and whosoever cometh to Him, He will in no wise cast out. Sinful as thou art, peradventure He will accept thee, if thou wilt come to Him." With that thought came consolation; he concluded that he was indeed invited to forsake the world, and follow his Saviour, and he resolved to give up all for His sake. As this resolution gained hold upon him, he began to feel that he was walking in the right path; old things began to pass away; powers long dormant, or dwarfed and stunted by devotion to lower aims, put forth greater activity; the flower at the bottom of the long sunless cavern had caught the quickening ray, and was beginning to expand into the fulness of its bloom.

Resolves to attempt the conversion of the Mahometans.

After long contemplation, he came to the conclusion that he could not devote his energies to a higher work, than that of proclaiming the message of the Cross to the Saracens. His thoughts would naturally take such a direction. The Balearic Isles had long been in the possession of the Saracens; his father had served in the wars and shared the triumphs of the king of Arragon over the Mahometans[1], and had been rewarded for his bravery by the grant of a portion of Majorca. It occurred to his son, that possibly the Sword of the Spirit might conquer foes, whom

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the carnal weapons of the knights had failed to win over to the Christian fold. But then arose another difficulty. How could he, a layman, and uninstructed, enter on such a work? Thereupon it again occurred to him that, at least, a beginning might be made by composing a volume which should demonstrate the truth of Christianity, and convince the warriors of the Crescent of their errors. But even if such a book were composed, of what avail would it be in

[1] In the year 1229. *Acta SS.* June 30, p. 644.

the hands of the Saracens, who understood no other language but Arabic? As he pondered over this, he was filled with the idea of calling upon the Pope and the monarchs of Christendom, instead of spending blood and treasure in bootless martial expeditions against the Saracens, to join in founding monasteries and schools, where men might learn the language of their foes, and so be enabled to go forth and preach the Word to some purpose. Full of such thoughts, he repaired on the next day to a neighbouring church, and poured forth his whole soul to God, beseeching Him if He did, indeed, inspire these thoughts, to enable him to carry them out, and to give him strength and courage to dedicate himself to the work[1].

Idea of addressing the Pope and monarchs of Christendom.

This was in the month of July, 1266. But though old things were passing away, all things had not yet become new with him. Old passions rose and struggled afresh for the mastery, and so far succeeded in thwarting and baffling higher aspirations, that for three months his great design was laid aside[2]. The fourth of October came, the festival of St Francis of Assisi. Lull went to the Franciscan Church at Palma, and heard from the lips of the preacher, the tale of the "Spouse of Poverty;" how the son of Pietro Bernadone di Mericoni, once foremost in all deeds of arms, gayest at the gay festival, was taken prisoner at Perugia, and brought by disease to the very gates of the grave; how thus he learnt to weigh the things of time and sense in the balances of eternity, and recovering, came forth to live no more for himself, but for his Lord; how he exchanged his gay apparel for the garb of the mendicant, visited the sick, tended the leprous, and, renouncing the

The festival of St Francis of Assisi.

[1] *Vita Prima*, p. 662. "Dominum Jesum Christum devote, flens largiter exoravit, quatenus hæc prædicta tua, quæ ipse misericorditer inspiraverat cordi suo, ad effectum sibi placitum perducere dignaretur."

[2] "Cum nimis esset adhuc imbutus vita et lascivia seculari, in prædictis tribus negotiis persequendis... satis fuit tepidus et remissus." *Vita Prima*, p. 662.

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world, achieved the victory that overcometh it. The words of the preacher rekindled the resolutions of the listening Seneschal. He now made up his mind once and for ever, sold all his property save a scanty sustenance for his wife and children[1], assumed the coarse garb of a mendicant, made pilgrimages to various churches in the island, and prayed for grace and assistance in the work he had resolved to undertake.

Enters on the study of Arabic.

At one time he thought of repairing to Paris, and there, by close and diligent scientific study, training himself for the controversy with the Saracen. But the advice of his kinsman, the Dominican, Raymund de Pennaforte[2], dissuaded him, and he remained at Majorca. He next proceeded to purchase a Saracen slave, and entered on the study of Arabic, with which he was occupied for a period of upwards of nine years. A tragic incident interrupted his studies. On one occasion the Saracen blasphemed Christ. Lull in his indignation struck him violently on the face. The Moslem stung to the quick attempted his life, and wounded him severely, for which he was flung into prison, and there committed suicide[3]. Still Lull persevered in his resolution, and retired for eight days to a mountain to engage in prayer and meditation. While thus employed, the idea occurred to him, of composing a work which should contain a strict and formal demonstration of all the Christian doctrines, of such cogency that the Moslem doctors could not fail to acknowledge their truth, and to embrace the faith[4]. With such force did

Idea of the Ars Major sive Generalis.

[1] "Tibi, Domine Deus, offero me et meam uxorem et meas proles et omnia quæ possideo; et quoniam adeo te humiliasti per opus sacrificii, placeat Tibi Te humiliare ad acceptandum omnia, quæ tibi do et offero, ut ego et mea uxor et meæ proles simus tui humiles servi." *Lib. Contempl.* XCI. 27.

[2] He had a few years before persuaded Thomas Aquinas to compose his work in four volumes *On the Catholic Faith*, or *Summary against the Gentiles*. See Huc, I. 244. Jameson's *Legends*, 470.

[3] *Vita Prima*, p. 662.

[4] "Rogat Raymundus religiosos et seculares sapientes, ut videant, si

this thought take possession of his mind, that he could regard it in no other light than a divine revelation, and having traced the outline of such a work, which he called the *Ars Major sive Generalis*, he returned to the spot where the idea had first burst upon him, and remained there for four months, developing the argument, and praying for the divine blessing on his work[1]. The treatise he conceived, while in one sense intended for the special work of convincing the Moslems, was to include "a universal art of acquisition, demonstration, confutation," "to cover the whole field of knowledge, and supersede the inadequate methods of previous schoolmen[2]."

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When it was completed, he had an interview with the king of Majorca, published the first book of his "Method," and lectured upon it in public. At length he persuaded the king, who had heard of his zeal, to found and endow a monastery in Majorca, where thirteen Franciscan monks should be instructed in the Arabic language, and trained to become able disputants among the Moslems[3].

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The success of his request to the king encouraged him to hope that the great Head of Christendom might evince a similar interest in his plans. He therefore undertook a journey to Rome, hoping to obtain from Honorius IV. the approbation of his treatise, and aid in founding mis-

rationes, quas ipse facit contra Saracenos approbando fidem Catholicam habeant veritatem, quia si forte aliquis solveret rationes, quæ per Saracenos contra fidem Catholicam opponuntur, cum tamen ipsi rationes, quæ fiunt pro eadem, solvere non valerent, fortificati Saraceni valde literati et sapientes se facerent Christianos." Introduction to the *Necessaria demonstratio articulorum fidei.*

[1] And holding interviews, according to one biographer, with a certain mysterious Shepherd, "quem ipse nunquam viderat alias, neque de ipso audiverat quenquam loqui." *Vita Prima*, 663.

[2] For his ideas, "de veriore modo qui possit haberi in disputatione de Fide," see *Lib. de Contempl. in Deum*, CLXXXVII.

[3] "Quantumcunque aspiciam et inquiram, fere nullum invenio, qui vadat ad Martyrium pro amore Tui, sicut Tu, Domine, fecisti pro amore nostri: igitur rationabile mihi videretur ordinationem fieri, quod essent Religiosi, qui addiscerent diversas linguas et irent ad moriendum pro tuo amore." *Lib. Contempl. in Deum*, cap. CX. 28, Tom. IX. 246.

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sionary schools and colleges in various parts of Europe. On his arrival he found the Papal chair vacant, and all men busied with one thing, the election of a successor. He waited for calmer times, but impediments were always thrown in his way, and his plans received little encouragement. The heads of the Christian world "cared for none of these things." Meanwhile he repaired to Paris, lectured on his *Ars Generalis* in the University, and composed another treatise on the discovery of truth. And, at length, tired of seeking aid for his plans in which no one took much interest, he determined to set forth himself, and attempt alone and singlehanded, the propagation of the faith among the Moslems in Africa[1].

For this purpose he betook himself to Genoa, and finding a ship on the point of sailing for the African coast, engaged for his passage thither. At Genoa the story of his life was not unknown; men had heard with wonder of the marvellous change that had come over the once gay and dissolute Seneschal, and now it was whispered that he had devised an entirely new method for the conversion of the "infidel," and was about to set out alone for the barbarous shores of Africa. The expectations of the Genoese were raised to the highest pitch, and the utmost interest was taken in his project. The ship was lying in the harbour, the missionary's books had been conveyed on board, and everything was ready for the voyage. But at this juncture a change came over him; he was overwhelmed with terror at the thought of what might befal him in the country whither he was going. The idea of enduring torture or life-long imprisonment presented itself with such force, that he could not control his emotions[2]. His books were recalled,

A.D. 1287.

[1] "Ad experiendum, utrum ipse saltem solus in aliquo posset proficere apud ipsos, conferendo cum sapientibus eorum, sic manifestando eisdem, secundum Artem sibi datam a Deo, Filii Dei Incarnationem, necnon Divinarum Personarum in summa unitate essentiæ Beatissimam Trinitatem." *Vita Prima*, p. 663.

[2] *Vita Prima*, p. 664. "England

and the ship sailed without him. No sooner had he received tidings that this was the case, than he was seized with the keenest remorse. The thought that he had proved a traitor to the great cause, that he had slighted a divine call to a special work, that he had given a handle to all scoffers at religion, threw him into a violent fever. While he was yet suffering the greatest bodily and mental prostration, he heard that another ship was lying in the harbour ready to sail for Tunis. Weak as he was, he implored his friends that his books might again be put on board, and he suffered to essay the voyage. He was conveyed to the ship, but his friends convinced that he could not outlive the voyage, insisted on his being again landed. He returned to his bed, and his troubled mind found no peace, and his bodily sufferings no alleviation. Soon another ship being announced as ready to sail, he determined, at all risks, to be put on board, and the vessel had hardly lost sight of the land before he felt himself a different man[1]; his conscience no more rebuked him for cowardice, peace of mind returned, his body was attuned once more to its wonted vigour, and, to the surprise of all, he seemed to have regained perfect health.

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He reached Tunis at the close of the year 1291, or the beginning of 1292. His first step was to invite the

A.D. 1291, or 1292 *Reaches Tunis.*

has disappeared, and with it, all my peace," writes Henry Martyn, in his diary, as the shores of Cornwall receded from view on the voyage to India. "Would I go back? O no —but how can I be supported? my faith fails. I find, by experience, I am as weak as water. O my dear friends in England, when we spoke with exaltation of the missions to the heathen, whilst in the midst of health and joy and hope, what an imperfect idea did we form of the sufferings by which it must be accomplished." *Life*, p. 121.

[1] "Cum nautæ, de portu exeuntes, inciperent navigare, Raymundus sospitatem conscientiæ, quam sub nubilatione supradicta se credidérat amisisse, subito lætus in Domino, Sancti Spiritus illustratione misericordi, recuperavit, una cum sui corporis languidi sospitate: in tantum, quod ipse infra dies paucissimos, mirantibus cunctis...etiam semetipso, sensit se in adeo bono statu mentis et corporis, sicut antea fuerat in tota præterita vita sua." *Vita Prima*, p. 664. See Neander's *Memorials*, p. 527. Wadding, *Annales Francisc.* an. 1287.

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Mahometan literati to a conference. He announced that he had diligently studied the arguments which supported not only the Christian but the Mahometan religion, that he was anxious for the fullest and freest discussion, and was willing, if they succeeded in convincing him by fair argument, to espouse their belief. The Imauns eagerly responded to the challenge, and flocking to the place of conference in great numbers, exhausted their whole store of arguments in the hope of winning him over to the religion of the Prophet. After a lengthened discussion, the missionary advanced the following propositions[1]: "Every wise man must acknowledge that to be the true religion, which ascribed the greatest perfection to the Supreme Being, and not only conveyed the worthiest conception of all His attributes, His goodness, power, wisdom, and glory, but demonstrated the harmony and equality existing between them. Now their religion was defective in acknowledging only two active principles in the Deity, His will and His wisdom, whilst it left His goodness and greatness inoperative, as though they were indolent qualities, and not called forth into active exercise. But the Christian faith could not be charged with this defect. In its doctrine of the Trinity it conveys the highest conception of the Deity, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in one most simple essence and nature[2]. In that of the incarnation of the Son, it evinces the harmony that exists between God's goodness

His preaching.

[1] On the Lullian Art, see Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* (*Mediæval*), pp. 244—246.

[2] "Apparebit vobis, si placet, rationabilissime per eandem Artem, quod in Filii Dei Incarnatione, per participationem unionis Creatoris et Creaturæ in una persona Christi, prima et summa causa cum suo effectu rationabilissime concordat, et convenit: et quod etiam maxime et nobilissime hoc apparet in ejusdem Filii Dei Christi passione, quam ipse apte humanitatis assumptæ sustinuit, sua voluntaria et misericordissima dignatione, pro nobis peccatoribus redimendis a peccato et corruptione primi parentis, ac reducendis ad statum gloriæ et fruitionis divinæ; propter quem, et ad quem statum, finaliter nos homines fecit Deus benedictus." *Vita Prima*, p. 665. Compare also *Lib. de Contempl. in Deum*, LIV. 25—28 and CLXXXVI. 6.

and His greatness, and in the person of Christ displays the true union of the Creator and the creature[1]; while in His Passion which He underwent out of His great love for man, it sets forth the Divine harmony of Infinite Goodness and Condescension, even the condescension of Him, Who for us men, and for our salvation, and restitution to our primeval state of perfection, underwent those sufferings, and lived and died for man."

This argument, whatever else was thought of it, was deemed worthy of drawing down persecution on the head of its author. A learned Imaun pointed out to the king the danger likely to beset the law of Mahomet, if such a zealous propagandist was allowed to disseminate his opinions, and therefore suggested that he should be put to death. Raymund therefore was thrown into prison, and was only saved from death by the intercession of a less prejudiced counsellor, who reminded his sovereign that a professor of their own faith would be held in high honour, if he imitated the self-devotion of the prisoner, in propagating *their* doctrines among the Christians. Let him then be fairly dealt with, and let them do as they would be done by. This timely intervention saved him, and the sentence of death was commuted to banishment from the country. The ship which had conveyed him to Tunis was on the point of returning to Genoa; he was placed therefore on board, and warned that if he ever made his way into the country again he would assuredly be stoned to death. But Raymund,

[1] "Quantam significationem dant de tua Bonitate, Domine, Lex Judæorum et Lex Saracenorum, tantam significationem dat de ipsa Lex Christianorum et adhuc multo majorem; et quia Judæi et Saraceni negant Te assumpsisse humanam naturam, quam Christiani Te assumpsisse affirmant, Christiani attribuunt tuæ Deitati plus bonitatis, quam Judæi et Saraceni, quoniam confitendo Te esse Deum et Hominem Tibi attribuunt Naturam divinam et naturam angelicam quantum ad animam, et naturam humanam quantum ad corpus et animam rationalem: igitur quia Lex Christianorum significat in Te plus Bonitatis, quam aliæ leges, significat se ipsam esse veram, et leges sibi contrarias esse falsas, et significando hoc significat Te esse verum Deum et Hominem simul." *Ibid.*

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A.D. 1291, or 1292.

unwilling to give up the hopes of a lifetime[1], managed to return to Tunis unawares, and for three months concealed himself in the neighbourhood of the harbour, and employed his time in composing another scientific work. But finding no second opportunity for free discussion, he sailed for Naples, and there remained several years teaching and lecturing on his new Method, till hearing of the elevation of Cœlestine V. to the Papal Chair, he betook himself to Rome, hoping to obtain that assistance in establishing his favourite plan of missionary colleges, which he had vainly besought before. Cœlestine's reign was brief, and his successor, Boniface VIII., cared little for missionary enterprise[2].

A.D. 1293—1306.

Finding his journey to Rome likely to lead to no practical result, he resolved to travel from place to place, and preach wherever he might have opportunity. After endeavouring, therefore, to convince the Mahometans and Jews in Majorca of their errors, he sailed for Cyprus, and thence, attended only by a single companion, penetrated into Armenia, and strove to reclaim the various Oriental sects to the orthodox faith[3]. Ten years having been spent in these occupations, he returned and lectured in several of the universities of Italy and France, and then in 1307 made his way once more to Bugia in Northern Africa, and standing up publicly, proclaimed in the Arabic language that Christianity was the only true faith, that the religion of the Prophet was false, and he was ready to prove this to the satisfaction of all. A commotion en-

[1] "Disposuerat viros famosæ reputationis et alios quamplurimos ad baptismum, quos toto animo affectabat deducere ad perfectum lumen fidei orthodoxæ." *Vita S. Lulli.*

[2] During his stay in Rome he composed a treatise having for its object to demonstrate incontrovertibly the fundamental truths of Christianity. See Neander's *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 528.

[3] "Accessit ad regem Cypri affectu multo supplicans ei, quatenus quosdam infideles atque schismaticos, videlicet Jacobinos, Nestorinos, Momminas (Maronitas?) ad suam prædicationem necnon disputationem coarctaret venire." *Ibid.*

sued, and not a few hands were lifted to stone him to death. The mufti rescued him, and expostulated with him on his madness in thus exposing himself to imminent peril. "Death has no terrors," he replied, "for a sincere servant of Christ, who is labouring to bring souls to a knowledge of the truth." Thereupon the Moslem, who was well versed in the Arabian philosophy, challenged him for his proofs of the superiority of his religion to that of the prophet. Raymund fell back on his favourite arguments, and dilated on the harmony that existed in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. But, as before, his arguments only brought upon him persecution. He was flung into a dungeon, and for half a year remained a close prisoner, befriended only by some merchants of Genoa and Spain. Meanwhile riches, wives, high place and power were offered him if he would consent to abjure his faith[1]. To all such temptations he replied, "And I will promise you wealth, and honour, and everlasting life, if ye will forsake your false creed, and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ." He also proposed that both parties should compose a written defence of their respective tenets, and was engaged in fulfilling his part of the engagement, when a sudden command of the king directed that he should be sent out of the country.

During the voyage a storm arose, and the vessel was driven on a point of the coast not far from Pisa. Here he was received with all the respect that became so eminent a champion of the faith. Though upwards of seventy, his old ardour was not abated, the same high aspirations still animated him. "Once," he writes[2], "I was fairly rich; once I had a wife and children; once I tasted freely the pleasures of this life. But all these things I gladly

[1] "Promittebant ei uxores, honores, domum et pecuniam copiosam." *Vita Prima*, cap. IV.

[2] Wadding, *Annales*, v. p. 317, ad ann. 1293. "Nunc senex sum, nunc pauper sum, in eodem proposito sum, in eodem usque ad mortem mansurus, si Dominus ipse dabit."

CHAP. XVI.
A.D. 1308.

resigned that I might spread abroad a knowledge of the truth. I studied Arabic, and several times went forth to preach the Gospel to the Saracens; I have been in prisons; I have been scourged; for years I have striven to persuade the princes of Christendom to befriend the common good of all men. Now, though old and poor, I do not despair. I am ready, if it be God's will, to persevere even unto death." Full of his old ardour, and in keeping with the spirit of the age, he conceived the idea of founding a new order of spiritual knights[1], who should be ready to embark, at a moment's notice, to war against the Saracens, and attempt the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Pious noblemen and ladies at Genoa offered to contribute for this object, the sum of thirty thousand guilders, and thus encouraged he set out for Avignon to lay his scheme before Clement V. The same fate befell this appeal that had attended all the rest, and he found occupation in attacking as a teacher at Paris the opinions of Averroes. While here, he heard that a general council was to be summoned at Vienne[2]. A General Council might favour what Popes had scarcely deigned to notice. He repaired therefore to Vienne, and proposed that missionary colleges should be established in various parts of Europe; that the different orders of spiritual knights should be consolidated, with a view to another effort to recover the Holy Land; and, lastly, that men duly qualified should be invited to combat the opinions of Averroes[3]. The first of these propositions was favourably received, and the Council passed

A.D. 1311. *Council of Vienne.*

[1] "Cum Sanctum Sepulchrum et sancta terra ultramarina, Domine, videatur debere acquirere per prædicationem melius, quam per vim armorum, progrediantur sancti equites religiosi et muniant se signo Crucis, et impleant se gratia Sancti Spiritus, et eant prædicare infidelibus veritatem tuæ Passionis, et effundant pro tuo amore totam aquam suorum oculorum, et totum sanguinem sui corporis, sicut Tu fecisti pro amore ipsorum." *Lib. Contempl. in Deum*, cap. CXII. 11.

[2] Wadding's *Annals*, VI. 199, ad ann. 1312.

[3] *Vita Prima*, cap. IV.

a decree, that professorships of the Oriental languages should be endowed in the universities of Paris, Salamanca, and Oxford, and in all cities where the Papal court resided[1]. CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1311.

Thus at last he had lived to see some portion of the labours of his life brought to fruition. When the deliberations of the Council were over, it might have been thought he would have been willing to enjoy the rest he had so well deserved. But such was not his wish. "As the needle[2]," he says in his *Contemplations*, "naturally turns to the North, when it is touched by the magnet, so is it fitting, O Lord, that Thy servant should turn to love and praise and serve Thee, seeing that out of love to him, Thou wast willing to endure such grievous pangs and sufferings[3]." Or, as he says again, "Men are wont to die, O Lord, from old age, the failure of natural warmth and excess of cold; but thus, if it be Thy will, Thy servant would not wish to die; he would prefer to die in the glow of love, even as Thou wast willing to die for him[4]." Animated by these sentiments he crossed over once more to Bugia on the 14th of August, 1314, and for nearly a year laboured secretly among a little circle of converts, whom during previous visits he had won over to the Christian faith. To them he continued to expatiate on the theme of which he never seemed to tire, the inherent superiority of the Christian religion to that of the Jews and the Mahometans. "If the latter," he still argued, "according A.D. 1314. *Crosses over to Bugia.*

[1] On the story of his visit to England and the curious legend of his writing a work on Alchemy at St Catharine's Hospital, London, see Strype's *Stow*, I. 352 (ed. 1753). Wadding, VI. 236.

[2] In his treatise *Fenix des les Maravillas del Orbes*, published in 1286, he again alludes to the use of the mariner's compass. See Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 630 *n.*

[3] *Lib. de Contempl.* CXXIX. 19.

[4] *Vita Secunda*, cap. IV. *Lib. de Contempl.* CXXX. 27. "Homines morientes præ senectute, Domine, moriuntur per defectum caloris naturalis et per excessum caloris; et ideo tuus servus et subditus, si tibi placeret, non vellet mori tali morte immo vellet mori præ calore Amoris, quia Tu voluisti mori tali morte."

CHAP. XVI.
A.D. 1314.

to their law, affirm that God loved man because He created him, endowed him with noble faculties, and pours His benefits upon him, then the Christians according to their law affirm the same. But inasmuch as the Christians believe more than this, and affirm that God so loved man that He was willing to become man, to endure poverty, ignominy, torture, and death for his sake, which the Jews and Saracens do not teach concerning Him, therefore is the religion of the Christians which thus reveals a Love beyond all other love, superior to that of those which reveals it only in an inferior degree[1]."

On the "length, and breadth, and depth, and height" of this Love, a Love "which passeth knowledge," he never ceases to expatiate in his *Contemplations*, and now it was the one theme of his earnest converse with his little flock. At length, longing for the crown of martyrdom he came forth from his seclusion, and presenting himself openly to the people, proclaimed that he was the same man they had once expelled from the town, and threatened them with divine wrath if they still persisted in their errors. The consequences can be easily anticipated. Filled with fury the populace seized him, and on the 30th of June, 1315, dragged him outside the town, and there by command of the king stoned him to death. A few faithful merchants of Majorca succeeded in obtaining permission to remove the body, from under the pile of stones that covered it, and conveyed it for interment to their native land.

A.D. 1315. *His martyrdom.*

Missions in the East owing to the Crusades.

Out of the Crusades, however, the fanaticism of which is agreeably relieved by this episode of the gentler spirit of Raymund Lull, arose other efforts to bear the banner of the Cross into the lands of the East. The Eastern Church, as we have already remarked, had long since ceased to be

[1] *Lib. de Contempl.* CLXXXVI. 26, and compare CLXXXVII. 13.

Previous missionary exertions of the Nestorians.

aggressive or creative; such missionary zeal as still existed, was found amongst a sect excluded from her pale, and known as Nestorians or Chaldæan Christians. At first finding protection and toleration in Persia, they not only won over the Persian Church to their tenets, but extended their spiritual dominion beyond the Tigris to Bactriana and India, and in the sixth and seventh centuries could count up their missionary stations along the pepper coast of Malabar[1], in the island of Ceylon, in the valleys of Imaus, and in the track of the wandering Tartar. Timotheus, one of the most distinguished of their patriarchs, who had the power of holding synods, electing metroplitans, bishops, and clergy, sent forth in the ninth century, from the monastery of Bethabe, in Mesopotamia, hosts of missionaries, who roved in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and even penetrated into China, where a well-known inscription in the Chinese and Syrian tongue, purporting to belong to the year 781, relates that a Nestorian missionary laboured there with success, as far back as the year 635[2]. Whatever amount of confidence may be placed in travellers of this period, certain it is that the Nestorian schools, especially those at Bagdad, Edessa, Nisibis, and Dschondisapur in Khusistan[3], "exercised a very marked influence on the geographical diffusion of knowledge," gave the first impulse to scientific and medical investigations[4], and scattered the seeds of civilization far into the distant East. The successful efforts, towards the close of the tenth century, of

[1] Neale's *Eastern Church*, I. 146. Wiltsch, I. 490. Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 6. In the ninth century the Christians of S. Thomas attracted the notice of our Alfred. Pauli's *Alfred*, p. 147.

[2] First discovered by the Jesuit missionaries in 1625. Its genuineness, however, is disputed. Smith's *Gibbon*, VI. 50 *n.* Neander, V. 123. Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, 29 *n.*

[3] Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 578, ed. Bohn.

[4] "The school of Edessa, a prototype of the Benedictine schools of Monte Cassino and Salerno, gave the first impulse to a scientific investigation of remedial agents, yielded from the mineral and vegetable kingdoms." *Cosmos*, II. 579. See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orientalis*, tom. III. part ii. 75, 76. Wiltsch, I. 486.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1200.

the Nestorian primate of Maru in Chorasan, amongst the people of Tartary, who sent to the city of Caracorum in the kingdom of Kerait two priests, together with deacons and ecclesiastical vessels, and baptized many thousands of the people, gave rise to those vague rumours, current in Western Europe in the thirteenth century, of a powerful Christian empire in Tartary, governed by a mysterious line of sacerdotal kings[1].

Mongol invasion of Europe.

These vague rumours were before long exchanged for something more certain. In the year 1202, an internal revolution extinguished the dynasty of these sacerdotal monarchs, placed the well-known Chinghis Khan upon the throne, and hurled the Mongol armies against the terrified soldiers of the West. More dreadful even than the Saracens, they conquered Russia, invaded Poland, overran Hungary, and threatened Germany and the shores of the Baltic[2]. The Western Pontiff trembled at their coming, and in the year 1245, sent two embassies, one to charge these sanguinary warriors to desist from their desolating inroads, the other to attempt to win them over to Christianity. The first embassy, consisting of four Dominican monks, headed by one named Ascelin[3], sought the commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces in Persia. Ignorant of the language and manners of these tribes, they provoked their suspicions by refusing to comply with Oriental customs, and after vainly endeavouring to impress on the mind of the Great Khan, the awful might and majesty of the Pope, were dismissed with directions to inform their master, that it was the will of Heaven that the Great Khan should be lord of the whole world, and if any wished to make their submission, they must remain on their own soil, nor vainly oppose the resistless course of the Mongol hosts. The other

Ascelin.

[1] Neander, VII. 63. Asseman, II. 444. Hardwick, p. 140. Gieseler, III. 481.

[2] Gibbon, VI. 149.

[3] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I. 37; Neander, VII. 66.

embassy[1], consisting of Franciscans, headed by an Italian, Johannes de Plano Carpini, next arrived in Tartary, after making their way, amidst every species of hardship, through Russia. Their leader, who had travelled much, and held high office in his order, was better acquainted with the forms of Oriental etiquette; he made the usual prostrations[2], but, though admitted to an audience with the successor of Oktai-khan[3], failed in making any impression on his mind, or inducing him to lean more to them than to the numerous Nestorian envoys at his court. Filled with the idea that the Mongol conquests would come to an end, unless the gods of foreign countries were propitiated, the Mongol chief gave a patient hearing to Catholic, Nestorian, Buddhist, and Mahometan missionaries, and listened, like Vladimir of Russia, to their several arguments.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1246.

Johannes de Plano Carpini.

In the year 1253, Louis the Ninth of France, then staying, during the Crusade, in the island of Cyprus, encouraged by the exaggerated accounts of the willingness of the Mongol chiefs to receive the Christian faith, sent thither another Franciscan, William de Rubruquis[4]. He penetrated even as far as the Mongol capital of Caracorum, and soon perceived how illusive were the hopes of expecting any permanent impression. The toleration of the Khan was unbounded; Nestorians prayed for him, and blest his cups one day, Mahometans the next, and Buddhists the third[5]. A pretended monk, a weaver from Armenia, was

A.D. 1253.

Mission of William de Rubruquis.

[1] Huc, I. 163.

[2] "It being given us to understand that we must bestow giftes upon them, we caused certaine skinnes of bevers and other beastes to be bought, which was given upon alms to succour us by the way." Hakluyt, I. 63.

[3] See Huc, I. 175, where he gives the answer of the Khan to the embassy of the Pope.

[4] Neander, VII. 69. Hakluyt, I. 71. Huc, I. 207. "Their route was from Acre to Constantinople, thence to Soldya, where Rubruquis organized his caravan of eight covered carts, two of which were to serve for beds, and five saddle-horses. Besides his companion, Bartholomew of Cremona, his party consisted of an interpreter, a guide and a servant." For a singularly accurate description of Tartar manners in the fifteenth century, see the account of Friar Ricold, quoted in Huc, I. 214.

[5] Huc, I. 231, where also he cites many instances of the superstitions of the Khan.

CHAP. XVI.
A.D. 1253.

installed in high favour, as accredited with a direct revelation from heaven, while side by side with the single Christian church, were two Mahometan mosques, and twelve idol temples. Rubruquis, however, succeeded in baptizing about sixty persons, and celebrated mass on Easter Day to a large number of recipients. He then applied for permission to reside in the country, and was closely interrogated as to his object in coming so far from his own land. "To make known to the Mongol nation the Word of God," was his reply. "What word?" inquired the officers of the court; "had it anything to reveal respecting the future? Could it insure success to the nation?" "The word of God is this," replied the Franciscan: "Unto whomsoever God has given much, of him shall be much required; unto whom less has been entrusted, of him shall less be required; and he, to whom most is entrusted, he is also loved most[1]. Now, on the Khan, God had bestowed power, and might, and dominion over many nations. His idols had conferred nothing upon him; all that he had came from the one God, who setteth up one nation and putteth down another; let him be assured, then, that if he loved God, nothing would be wanting to him, whereas if he did otherwise, let him know that he would be called to the strictest account hereafter, for all that had been entrusted to him." "And who does not love God?" asked one of the officers, and a Mahometan. "He who loves God, keepeth His commandments; he that loveth Him not, keepeth not His commandments," was the reply of Rubruquis. "But what were God's commandments?" pursued his inquirers: "had the missionary ascended into heaven, and discovered what they were?" "He had not," Rubruquis answered: "but One *had* come down from heaven, and revealed God's will. His will and commandments were recorded in a certain book, and by their works it was known whether

Discussion with the court officers.

[1] Neander, VII. 72.

men observed them or not." "Did not, then, the Great Khan keep His commandments?" inquired the court-officers. Rubruquis parried the subtle question: "It was his wish to lay before the Khan, all the commandments of God, and then, he could judge for himself whether he kept them or not." CHAP. XVI. A.D. 1253.

Interview with the Khan.

On the following day, it was announced as the will of the Khan, since the professors of so many religions were scattered throughout his kingdom, each of whom declared his own religion was the only true one, that a conference should be held, at which the advocates of each religion should hand in a written defence of their tenets. On the Eve of Whit-Sunday, they repaired to the place of conference; three secretaries of the Khan, a Christian, a Mahometan, and a Buddhist were appointed umpires, and proclamation was made that, if either party injured the other, or excited a disturbance, he would suffer death. It had been arranged by Rubruquis and the Nestorians, that he should speak first, and since three of the rival parties were agreed on the existence of One God, that they should make this a common standing-point in disputing with the Buddhist advocate[1]. Accordingly Rubruquis commenced the discussion by trying to prove, in opposition to polytheism, the necessity of recognising One Almighty God, the Author and Creator of all things. The Buddhist asked, "If there was only one God, how could the existence of evil be accounted for?" Rubruquis replied by asking for a definition of evil. What is evil? Till that was settled, it was idle to inquire into its origin. Thereupon the discussion reverted to its original channel. When it came to the turn of the Mahometans, they, if we may believe Rubruquis, disclaimed all dealings with idolatry, they acknowledged only one God, to whom they offered prayer, and whose law they

[1] Huc, I. 235.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1254.

Decision of the Khan.

endeavoured to keep, and had no wish to dispute with Christians, who were Monotheists like themselves.

On the next day, the Franciscan was admitted to an audience, and the Khan made known to him his decision. "We Mongols," said he, "believe there is only one God, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and to whom our hearts are wholly directed." "May God's grace enable you to do so," replied Rubruquis; "for without that it cannot be done." The Khan somewhat puzzled, asked through an interpreter, the meaning of the reply, and then proceeded, "God has given many fingers to the hand, even so hath he appointed many ways whereby man may serve him. To the Christians he has given the Sacred Books, but they do not observe what is written therein, or keep one of its chief precepts, not to censure or revile others." "True," said Rubruquis; "and I told thee at the first, I had no wish to dispute with any man." "God," continued the Mongol chief, "has given you the Sacred Books; ye do not observe what is written therein; to us He has given diviners and astrologers; we *do* observe what they tell us, and we try to live in peace with one another." This concluded the discussion, and the Khan made known to the missionary his desire that he would leave the country, and convey his reply to the letter of Louis the Ninth[1].

Five years after this interview, the principal seat of the Mongol empire was transferred to China[2], where, while Christianity was tolerated and even respected, the religion of the state itself underwent a change. The one article of belief among the simple pastoral tribes of Mongolia, was the existence of one Almighty Being, and His Son the Khan, to whom He had assigned all the kingdoms of the earth, and whom all men were bound to obey. While thus there was room for the most comprehensive toleration,

[1] The reply is given at length in Huc, I. 240.
[2] Hardwick, p. 235.

there was room also for every kind of superstition, and the desire to bring the one Supreme, living apart in awful isolation, into nearer communion with his feeble worshipper, to bridge over the awful chasm between them, predisposed the people for a composite religion of Buddhism and Lamaism[1], and the first grand Lama was appointed in the year 1260. Still, in a spirit strangely alien from that of the pontiffs of the West, "the Son of Heaven" entertained a respect for all religions, and not least for Christianity. He gladly welcomed Christian merchants and travellers, and Marco Polo ascribes to Kublai-Khan the saying, "There are four great prophets, who are reverenced by the different classes of mankind. The Christians regard Jesus Christ as their God; the Saracens, Mahomet; the Jews, Moses; the idolaters, Sakya-Muni Burchan the most eminent among their idols. I do honour and respect all the four[2]."

The authority for this assertion, Marco Polo, was sent to the court of Kublai, in 1274, in company with two learned Dominican monks, who had been commissioned by Gregory X. to visit the Mongol chief; and he relates another story which reflects credit on the tolerant spirit of

A.D. 1274.

[1] Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, II. App. 2, III. p. 89. *Middle Ages*, p. 235. Huc, I. 329.

[2] *Travels of Marco Polo*, p. 167. ed. Bohn, 1854. His reasons for not adopting Christianity he relates to two Christian ambassadors to the Pope: "Wherefore," said he, "should I become a Christian? You yourselves must perceive that the Christians of these countries are ignorant, inefficient persons, who do not possess the faculty of performing anything (miraculous); whereas you see the idolaters can do whatever they will. When I sit at table the cups that were in the middle of the hall come to me filled with wine and other beverage, spontaneously and without being touched by human hand, and I drink from them. They have the power of controlling bad weather, and obliging it to retire to any quarter of the heavens, with many other wonderful gifts of that nature. You are witnesses that their idols have faculty of speech, and predict to them whatever is required...Return you to your pontiff, and request of him in my name to send hither a hundred persons well skilled in your law, who being confronted with the idolaters, shall have power to coerce them, and showing that they themselves are endowed with similar art, but which they refrain from exercising, because it is derived from the agency of evil spirits, shall compel them to desist from practices of such a nature in their presence." See also Huc, I. 335.

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1274.

the Khan. A Christian, probably a Nestorian, rebelled against him, and, at the head of a numerous body of his fellow-believers, advanced to encounter him in battle, preceded by a banner inscribed with a Cross. He was easily overcome, and the Jews and Saracens did not fail to jeer against the Christian faith. "Here," said they, "is a proof of the weakness of Christ, He could not give even his own votaries a victory." "It is true," replied Kublai, to whom the Christians reported these jeering remarks; "the rebel did hope for aid from the Christian's God, but He, as a good and righteous Being, would not uphold His cause[1]."

A.D. 1292. *John de Monte Corvino.*

In the year 1292, appeared at Pekin a Franciscan monk, named John de Monte Corvino, and for a period of eleven years he kept alive, alone and single-handed, the flickering spark of Christianity in the Tartar kingdom.

A.D. 1303.

In 1303 he was joined by another Franciscan brother, Arnold of Cologne. Together they struggled on, amidst the constant impediments thrown in their way by their inveterate enemies, the Nestorians, though from the Khan they received much kindness, and were permitted to carry on their work. In the spirit of a wise missionary, John de Corvino gave earnest attention to the translation of the Scriptures into the Tartar language, the education of the young, and the training of a native ministry. He translated the New Testament and the Psalms, and made use of them in preaching. Purchasing at one time a hundred and fifty boys, between the ages of seven and eleven, he baptized them, and taught them Psalmody. Successful in building a church, he introduced his choral service, and attracted the attendance of many, for whose instruction, he set up six pictures representing Scripture characters, selected from the Old and New Testaments, and underneath he inscribed explanations in Latin, Persian, and Tartar. A Christian merchant, whom he had met in

Limited success.

[1] *Travels of Marco Polo*, p. 166.

Persia, gave him a site for another church, which was near the palace of the Khan, who took much pleasure in listening to the chanting of the choir; a chief also, descended from the sacerdotal kings, was persuaded to exchange the Nestorian for the Catholic Church, and receiving ordination, assisted Monte Corvino by inducing many to embrace the Christian faith[1]. But he was not destined to achieve any permanent success: though he always retained the good-will of the Khan, and was advanced by the Pope to the archbishopric of Cambalu, and was aided by seven other Franciscans, yet, on his death, in 1330, every vestige of his work was obliterated, his successor, though nominated by John XXII., never entered on his diocese, and in 1369, a change of dynasty caused the expulsion of every Latin Christian from the Empire[2].

CHAP. XVI.

A.D. 1303.

A.D. 1330.

[1] Neander, VII. 79.

[2] Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* III. 2, 516. Gieseler, IV. 259, 260. Hardwick, 235, 337.

CHAPTER XVII.

COMPULSORY CONVERSION OF THE JEWS AND MOORS.

A.D. 1400—1520.

"Dicendum quod infidelium quidam sunt, qui nunquam susceperunt fidem: et tales nullo modo sunt ad fidem compellendi, ut ipsi credant quia credere voluntatis est: sunt tamen compellendi a fidelibus, si adsit facultas, ut fidem non impediant."

THOMAS AQUINAS.

CHAP. XVII. *The Moslem and the Jew.*

FROM these tentative missions into the regions of the furthest East, we now return, and for the last time, to Europe. Here, though with the compulsory conversion of Lithuania and Prussia, the reign of heathenism may be said to have closed, there were still two races, whose obstinate adherence to the tradition of their fathers, was a continual annoyance to the champions of Christendom. The followers of the prophet and the descendants of Abraham, the former still occupying a corner in the south of Spain, the latter scattered through the various European kingdoms, still remained a standing proof that the circle of European Christendom was not complete. To induce the Moslem and the Jew to receive the Christian faith, was now the earnest effort of the Spanish Church.

The spirit whereby it was characterised may be anticipated, from what has already been said on the effect, which the fanaticism of the Crusades had exerted on European thought and feeling. But the edge of religious

animosity had been still further sharpened by the conflict of the Church with the earliest form of free thought. From the East the sect of the Bogomiles or Massilians had found its way into Europe, and especially into Lombardy and Southern France. Determinately opposed to the rigid Church-system now universally prevailing, they rejected many ceremonies, especially the baptism of infants, which they exchanged for a baptism of the Spirit, administered by laying on of hands and prayer, forbade matrimony, and in some places even animal food. Under the various names of Bulgri, Paterini, Popelicani, Cathari, Albigenses[1], they developed their doctrines, which were all more or less tinged with a Manichæan dualism, and, by their persistent efforts to attain a higher degree of holiness than was generally to be found among many members of the Church, won for themselves an extraordinary degree of popularity. In the south of France, and especially in the territory of the Count of Toulouse, the whole country flocked to listen to their preachers, and even the barons[2], startled for once amidst their gaiety and dissipation, not only enrolled themselves in their ranks, but even prayed to be admitted into the most ascetic class known as the Perfecti.

The Bogomiles or Massilians.

Waldenses or Vaudois.

In the same neighbourhood they were quickly succeeded by the followers of another and a purer sect, which, while entirely free from any Manichæan tinge[3], and more attached to the central truths of the Christian faith, were equally opposed to the corruptions of the Mediæval Church. These were the Waldenses or Vaudois. Bent on a radical reformation of the Church, or rather an exaltation of its spirit and practice, they insisted on the

A.D. 1170.

[1] Gieseler, III. 393, 4, and notes. Smith's *Gibbon*, VII. 58 *n.* Maitland's *Facts and Documents*, 91 *n.*

[2] Gieseler, III. 401 *n.*

[3] Maitland's *Facts and Documents*, pp. 178 sq. Gieseler, III. 411. Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*, I. 218.

CHAP. XVII.

A.D. 1170. personal study of the Holy Scriptures, circulated Romaunt versions of the Gospels and other parts of the Bible, and claimed to perform the functions of the priestly office[1]. As these and other similar bodies began to propound their tenets, the terror of the ecclesiastical authorities knew no bounds. In vain councils were summoned[2], in vain denunciation followed denunciation, in vain men like St

A.D. 1206. Bernard strove to reclaim the teachers of these strange doctrines to the Church, in vain Papal legates[3] wandered barefoot from place to place, and conferred with them on the points in dispute. The churches, especially in Southern France, were deserted, the clergy despised and ridiculed, and the whole country overrun with the adherents of these new opinions.

A.D. 1208. *Albigensian crusades.*

The elevation of Innocent III. to the papal throne was the signal for sterner measures. The murder, in 1208, of a Papal legate, which was falsely ascribed to Count Raymond of Toulouse, kindled the flames of the first Albigensian crusade[4], and the patron of St Dominic placed the sword in the hands of Simon de Montfort, who bathed the banner of the Cross "in a carnage from which the wolves of Romulus and the eagles of Cæsar would have turned away with loathing[5]." For thirty years the dreadful contest continued, and the wretched remnants of these massacres escaped only to fall into the still more ruthless hands of the Inquisition, an institution which the Council

A.D. 1229. of Toulouse[6] called into operation in 1229.

When therefore the fanaticism of the Crusades was

[1] Gieseler, III. 416. Hardwick, 313.

[2] Houzé, *Rejest. Pont. Rom.* July 8, 1119.

[3] The Cistercians, Peter of Castelnau, and Raoul. Gieseler, III. 424. Hardwick, 309 *n.*

[4] Gieseler, III. 426. Hardwick, 309.

[5] Sir J. Stephen's *Essays on Eccl. Biography*, I. 113.

[6] Gieseler, III. 432. Kurtz, 443. Hardwick, 310. One and the same sentence was pronounced on Cathari and Waldenses, on Petrobrusians, Arnoldists and Fratricelli, "species quidem habentes diversas," wrote Innocent III. "sed caudas ad invicem colligatas."

thus further inflamed by the antagonism of reforming sects at home, it is not to be wondered that the rational spirit of proselytism was quenched and forgotten. The days of Boniface and Anskar were gone by, and when the Church made her final effort to christianize the Moslem and the Jew, her weapons were no longer those of her purer missionary age, or in harmony with the Faith she sought to propagate.

1. *The Jews—especially in Spain.*

i. Let us first turn our attention to the Jews. Scattered as the unfortunate race of Israel was throughout every kingdom of Europe, in Spain, from their numbers and their wealth, they had attained a very considerable degree of influence. During the palmy days of the Saracenic supremacy they had enjoyed an ample toleration[1]. Not only were they admitted to high civil offices, and suffered to accumulate wealth, but in the schools of Cordova and Toledo, of Barcelona and Granada, they rivalled their Saracenic masters in the intensity of their application to every branch of learning. In speculative philosophy and Talmudic lore, in mathematics, astronomy, and especially the science of medicine, they made astonishing progress, and for four centuries, from the tenth to the thirteenth, enjoyed a peaceful toleration. But when the Saracen dominion began to wane, and the Spanish Christians slowly but surely pushed their conquests from the mountains of Asturia to the Douro and the Tagus, and afterwards still further consolidated their conquests, the Jews began to experience a perceptible change from the state of tranquillity, to which they had so long been accustomed.

But long before, there had been signs of an approaching storm[2]. Dark stories began to circulate in Spain, as in other parts of Europe, concerning the hostility of this

[1] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 351 (ed. 1838). Lindo's *Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 40.

[2] Thus at Toledo, in 1108, a riot broke out and the streets streamed with Jewish blood. Lindo, p. 69.

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A.D. 1229.

strange people to the Christian faith. It was whispered that they poisoned the wells, stole the consecrated wafers to pierce them with needles, that they crucified children at their Passover festival, and even used their entrails for magical rites. Such tales were eagerly devoured by the common people, until at length a child could not be missed without some foul play being suspected on the part of the Jews[1]. These stories were spread about in every part of Europe. In vain pious monks protested against such accusations; in vain Bernard of Clairvaux warned the champions of the Cross against staining their hands with the massacre of the people, "who were scattered among all nations as living

A.D. 1146.

memorials of Christ's passion[2];" in vain the better Popes lifted up their voices against the spirit of the times, and demanded for the outcast race a due measure of toleration. Ferocious enthusiasts like Rudolf and Peter of Cluny were listened to with far greater eagerness by excited mobs, and

A.D. 1349.

in almost every part of Europe the most inhuman persecutions were set on foot[3].

Persecution of the Jews.

But the violence meted out to this unfortunate race in other parts of Europe, was concentrated and intensified in the Spanish peninsula, where the wealth they had accumulated during long years of peaceful toleration, excited the cupidity and avarice of the natives of Arragon and Castile, and thus fanned the flames that fanaticism had kindled. At length, in 1391, the popular fury broke out into open violence, the houses of the Jews were broken into, their property plundered, and five thousand massacred without distinction of age or sex[4]. From this storm of persecution the Jews sought refuge in a real or feigned conversion. Thirty-five thousand are reported by enthusi-

[1] Gieseler, IV. 260. Neander, VII. 48 *n.*

[2] Robertson's *Church History*, II. 633.

[3] Gieseler, IV. 260. Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, pp. 70, 71.

[4] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 353.

astic chroniclers to have been converted through the eloquent preaching of Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia[1]. But the condition of the converts was one of extremest peril. In some instances they might even be admitted to ecclesiastical preferment, their daughters might be courted to repair the decayed fortunes of the Spanish nobility, but the slumbering fanaticism was ever ready to burst forth for the slightest cause. Meanwhile, those who continued steadfast to the faith of their fathers felt, especially in the early part of the fifteenth century, the weight of the severest legislative penalties. They were not only debarred from all free intercourse with Christians, they were not only confined within certain limits in their respective cities, but they were ordered to wear a red badge on the left shoulder, and were forbidden to exercise the profession of vintner or grocer, taverner or apothecary, physician or nurse[2].

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A.D. 1391.

A.D. 1400—1415.

Increased hostility.

But these measures did not satisfy the populace; complaints against their "abominable ceremonies" were multiplied, and many petitions were laid before Ferdinand and Isabella, begging that the heresy might be extirpated. A Dominican prior of the monastery of St Paul in Seville, and the Papal Nuncio at the court of Castile, took the lead in these petitions, and suggested that, for the speedier conversion of the Jews, the assistance of the Holy Office should be invited. Her better feelings induced Isabella to hesitate before introducing so frightful an engine of cruelty; but she had promised her confessor, the infamous Torquemada, that should she ever come to the throne, "she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith[3]."

A.D. 1478.

[1] Hardwick, 341 n. De Castro's *History of the Jews in Spain*, p. 95. On the memorable disputation at Tortosa in 1414, see Lindo, pp. 209—215.

[2] Lindo, pp. 122, 127, 130.

[3] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 362. For many instances of the complete subservience of the Spanish sovereigns to the clergy, see Buckle's *History of Civilization*, II. 11.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1475. After resisting, therefore, for some time the importunities of her clergy, she reluctantly consented to request a Bull for the introduction of the Holy Office, and in compliance therewith, Sixtus IV. invested, in 1478, three ecclesiastics with the necessary powers.

Interposition of Isabella.

Again, however, Isabella interposed, and begged that more lenient measures might first be tried. Accordingly the Cardinal Mendoza drew up a catechism[1], containing an explanation of the chief articles of the Christian faith, and the clergy were instructed to be unremitting in their exertions to reclaim the benighted Israelites from their errors, and induce them to flee for refuge to the bosom of the true Church. How far their efforts were successful we have no means of judging. They were continued for a space of two years, and the report then sent in was not favourable. Accordingly the Inquisitors were directed to carry out the duties of their office, and the benign work commenced at Seville, on the second of January, 1481. On the sixth of the same month six suffered at the stake; seventeen more shared their fate in March; and before the fourth of September 298 persons had figured in the *autos-da-fé* at Seville[2].

A.D. 1482. *Torquemada nominated Inquisitor-General.*

In 1483, Sixtus IV. promulgated another brief, nominating Torquemada Inquisitor-General of Castile and Arragon, and empowering him to organize afresh the Holy Office at Seville. During his supremacy, which lasted twenty years, "no less than 10,220 persons (chiefly Jews) were burnt, 6,860 condemned and burnt in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 reconciled by various other penances." But the

[1] See the *Disputatio Judæi cum Christiano de Fide Christiana*, in Anselm's *Works*, pp. 512—523, and the *Pugio Fidei*, by a Spanish Dominican, Raymond Martini, of the 13th century, directed (1) against the Mahometans, (2) the Jews.

[2] The Latin inscription over the portal of the house where the inquisitors met is curious: "*Exsurge Domine; judica causam tuam; capite nobis vulpes.*" Prescott, I. 365.

[3] Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, I. 380. Kurtz, 467. Lindo, p. 253.

inquisitors themselves grew tired at last, of their ineffectual efforts to bring about the work of conversion. They might succeed here and there in persuading a few to abjure their errors, but by far the greater number adhered to their ancestral faith. Finding torture, whether of the rack or the stake, ineffectual, they suggested that every unbaptized Israelite should be forthwith and for ever, expelled from the country. In vain the unhappy people tried to propitiate their persecutors by offering to contribute thirty thousand ducats towards the Moorish war. Torquemada rushed into the apartment where the sovereigns were debating on the offer, and holding up a crucifix, exclaimed, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver. Your highnesses would sell him anew for thirty thousand. Here He is, take Him and barter Him away," flinging the crucifix, as he said the words, upon the table. The sovereigns rejected the offer of the Jews, and on the thirtieth of March, 1492, signed a decree, ordering every unbaptized Jew, of whatever age, sex, or condition, to leave the country before the end of the following July, and to forbear to return on pain of instant death, and confiscation of property; they might convert their effects into bills of exchange, but on no pretence whatever, might they carry out of the country, either gold or silver[1].

A.D. 1483.

A.D. 1492. *Decree of expulsion.*

Fearful consequences.

The feelings of the wretched people can be better imagined than described. They had resorted to many expedients for the purpose of not offending the prejudices of their brother men. They had hoped that, at least, steady loyalty might have exempted them from persecution such as this. But it was not to be. The land which they had inhabited, since the days of the Arian Visigoths and the times of the first Saracenic invaders, where they had risen to position and opulence, where their forefathers from generation to generation had prospered, none making them afraid,

[1] The edict is given in full in Lindo, 277.

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this land must now be left, forthwith and for ever. And it was while they were bowed down by a misfortune like this, and the prospect of still more grievous misfortunes soon to come, while they found that wellnigh every clause in the edict which promised the slightest alleviation of their woes, was a dead letter, that the Spanish clergy redoubled their efforts to induce them to abjure their errors. In every synagogue, in every public square and market-place, they might be heard declaiming against the awfulness of the Jewish heresy, and expounding the articles of the faith. But wherever they went they were confronted by the Jewish rabbins, who bidding their brethren remember the tale of Egypt, and the passage of the Red Sea, exhorted them now to put their trust in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and not fear the wrath of man; and while they thus strove to nerve them for coming trials, the richer classes enforced their exhortations by liberal contributions to the wants of their poorer brethren.

The Exodus.

At length the day for their departure came, and multitudes might be seen flocking towards the different routes that led into the kingdom of Portugal, or the sea-coast on the South. Men, women, and children, the sick, the weak, and the helpless, some on horses, some on mules, the greater part on foot, commenced their sad and weary journey[1]. Even the Spaniards could not refrain from tears. But the relentless Torquemada forbade all sympathy, or succour, under the severest ecclesiastical penalties. Those, and they were by far the largest proportion, who passed through the kingdom of Portugal, paid a cruzado a head for the privilege of this route to the African coast. At Cadiz and Santa Maria, a Spanish fleet was lying ready to transport them to the Barbary shore. Landing at Ercilla, they made their way thence to Fez, where a number of

[1] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II. 229. Lindo, 285.

their countrymen resided. They had not proceeded far, before the children of the desert swooped down upon them, pillaged them of whatever gold they had secreted in their garments, or in the lining of their saddles, perpetrated every excess that lust could dictate on their wives and daughters, and massacred many in cold blood. Reduced to the last extremity, they tried to keep themselves from starvation by feeding on the tufts of grass that relieved here and there the arid monotony of the desert; and when this last resource failed, broken in spirits, hungry, and emaciated, numbers crawled back to Ercilla, and in the hope of being allowed to return to Spain, consented to be baptized. So many were they that sought this alleviation of their sufferings, that the officiating priests were fain to sprinkle the holy drops from the hyssop on numbers at once. Thus writes a chronicler of the period: "The calamities of these poor blind creatures proved, in the end, an excellent remedy that God made use of to unseal their eyes, which they now opened to the vain promises of the rabbins, so that renouncing their ancient heresies, they became faithful followers of the Cross[1]!"

Many of the wretched exiles, however, directed their steps towards Italy, others passed into Turkey, while others found their way into France and England. But even thus they were not secure. In Portugal, John II. issued an edict that all Jewish children, of fourteen years of age and under, should be taken from their parents and baptized; and an edict of the next reign ordered that all adults, who refused baptism, should be expelled from the country; and similar enactments were issued in France and Italy[2].

ii. The same year that witnessed the signing of the

[1] Prescott, II. 231. The number thus expelled is estimated by De Castro at 170,000, *Religious Intolerance in Spain*, p. 25. See, however, Buckle's *Civilization*, II. 19 *n.*

[2] See Prescott, I. 375. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, II. 368. Turner's *History of England*, II. 114—120.

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A.D. 1492. *Fall of Granada.*

disastrous edict for the expulsion of the Jews, witnessed also the fall of Granada. The fortunes of the Western Caliphate, like those of the Eastern, had dwindled from the highest pitch of prosperity to gradual but sure decay. For upwards of two centuries, the champions of the Crescent driven by successive conquests into the narrow kingdom of Granada, had defied all the efforts of the Christian warriors to wrest from them their last stronghold. But, in 1492, the fall of Granada restored the entire country to the Spanish arms. A treaty, however, unusually gentle in its terms, guaranteed to the Moslems the uninterrupted enjoyment of their ancient laws and religion, and for nearly eight years they continued to find that its provisions were not a dead letter, and experienced the reward of their capitulation in a peaceful repose[1].

Fray Fernando de Talavera.

During this period the archbishop of Granada, Fray Fernando de Talavera, a man of gentle and tolerant disposition, made earnest endeavours to win over the subject Moslems to the Christian faith. In a spirit very different from that of Torquemada, he strove to accomplish this by rational and befitting means. Though advanced in years, he commenced the study of Arabic, and commanded his clergy to copy his example. He drew up an Arabic Vocabulary, Grammar, and Catechism, translated the Liturgy, with selections from the Gospels, and did not hesitate to promise before long an Arabic Version of the entire Bible. These rational and prudent methods for enlightening the understandings of the people he desired to convert, recommended, as they were, by the sincerity and purity of his own life, gained at least the respectful attention of many of the Moslems, and not a few are said to have joined the ranks of the Christians[2].

Such a work would be necessarily slow; but it was far

[1] See the conditions of the treaty in De Castro, p. 27.

[2] Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II. 509.

too slow for the great body of the Spanish ecclesiastics. They had witnessed the excellent effects of the expulsion of the Jews from the country, and they now suggested that, in a similar manner, the alternative should be proposed to the stiffnecked Islamite, of instant conversion or banishment into Africa. For the present, however, such expedients found little favour with the Spanish sovereigns, who determined to remain faithful to the terms of the capitulation, and, beyond certain temporal advantages, proposed no other stimulant to the conversion of their Moslem tributaries.

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A.D. 1492.

Dissatisfaction of the Spanish ecclesiastics.

But, in the year 1499, the Spanish court visited Granada, and in its train followed the famous archbishop of Toledo, Ximenes de Cisneros. In the teeth of the most uncompromising opposition, he had just carried out his great scheme of monastic reform, and his stern religious enthusiasm at once suggested that more active measures should be employed for Christianizing the kingdom of Granada. No sooner, therefore, had the sovereigns left the city, than, in defiance of their earnest exhortation to caution and prudence, he invited the Islamite doctors to a conference, and after expounding with his usual energy and eloquence the chief articles of the Christian faith, he pressed their immediate acceptance on his hearers. Not content with this, he enforced his exhortations with liberal presents of costly robes, and induced upwards of four thousand to profess at least an outward acquiescence in the truths that he had taught, and on them the archbishop lavished freely the ample revenues of his estates, which felt for several years the drain to which they were now subjected[1].

A.D. 1499.

Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo.

But with many these proceedings found no favour. Amongst these was a noble Moor, named Zegri, a man of intelligence and learning, on whom Ximenes wasted all

Ximenes and Zegri.

[1] Prescott, II. 513.

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A.D. 1499.

his eloquence and his promises of reward, in vain efforts to induce him to abjure his errors. At length, in despair of other means, he handed him over to the tender mercies of an officer named Leon, "a lion," says the punning historian, "by nature as well as by name," with the request that he would take such means as should convince his prisoner of the error of his ways[1]. A few days' imprisonment in irons, and without food, brought about the desired change; and when Zegri again stood before the archbishop, he not only assured him that he had seen Allah in a vision, bidding him submit to baptism, but, added jocosely, that if this *lion* were turned loose among the people, there would not in a few days be left a single Mussulman within the walls of Granada[2].

Burning of Arabic works.

Active measures having thus succeeded in one instance, they were tried in others, and before long, the astonished Moslems beheld all the copies of the Koran that Ximenes could procure, and all the Arabic works, which had the least connexion with religion, publicly burnt in one of the great squares of Granada. Neither the most exquisite chirography, nor the most sumptuous binding, could exempt a single volume from the flames; and the author of the "Complutensian Polyglot" fondly hoped in this way, not only to exterminate Mahometanism, but even the very characters in which its teaching was recorded[3]. These highhanded proceedings, so directly contrary to the earnest exhortations of the Spanish sovereigns, created no little alarm among the Spanish clergy, and many were the appeals addressed to the archbishop, imploring him to stay his hand. But for all such representations he had

[1] Prescott, II. 515.

[2] "Thus," exclaims the devout Ferreras, "did Providence avail itself of the darkness of the dungeon, to pour on the benighted mind of the infidel, the light of the true faith." Prescott, II. 516.

[3] Conde (*El Nubiense*, p. 4) estimates the number of books destroyed at 80,000, Robles at 1,005,000, Gomez at 5,000. Prescott inclines to Conde's estimate, II. 516 *n.*

Obstinacy of Ximenes.

one answer; "a tamer policy might indeed suit in temporal matters, but not those in which the interests of the soul were at stake; that the unbeliever, if he could not be drawn, should be driven into the way of salvation; and that it was not time to stay the hand, when the ruins of Mahometanism were tottering to their foundations[1]." But he was soon made to feel that such expedients could only be resorted to at a heavy cost. The patience of the Moors lost all bounds, and the archbishop found himself besieged in his own palace by a furious mob. His deliverance was due entirely to the interposition of the venerable archbishop of Granada. He, at the imminent risk of his life, went forth alone and unarmed into the midst of the tumult, and calmed the rage of the people, who no sooner saw their old friend than they crowded round him, flung themselves at his feet, and kissed the hem of his robe. His efforts, combined with those of the Count of Tendilla, the Governor, who left his wife and two children as hostages with the Moslems, to assure them that their feelings should not again be violated, induced the infuriated populace to lay aside their weapons and return to their homes. The news of this untoward insurrection quickly reached Seville, and was received by the sovereigns with every sign of displeasure. But Ximenes hurried to the Court, and in reply to the royal expostulations, took upon himself the entire blame of the affair, recounted all the means he had used to bring about a more peaceful solution, the sums he had expended, the presents he had lavished, and winding up with a homily on the obduracy of the stiffnecked infidels, boldly declared that they had now forfeited all claim to lenient measures, that they were guilty of treason, and deserved nothing more than the treatment which had already been meted out to

Rise of the Moors.

[1] Prescott, II. 519.

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the Jews—the alternative of instant baptism or expulsion from the country.

Commissioners sent to Granada.

Ferdinand and Isabella at length gave in their adhesion to the course thus proposed, and though it was not as yet carried out entirely, commissioners were sent to Granada to inquire into the late rebellion and punish the guilty. To avoid the too certain penalty of obduracy, multitudes now received baptism, or migrated to Barbary. Fifty thousand are said to have abjured their errors, and under the name of Moriscos dragged on a miserable existence, in perpetual fear of being brought before the Inquisition, on the least suspicion of relapse. The two following years were, as might be expected, not peaceful. The inhabitants of the wild Sierras of the Alupaxarras, enraged no less at the faithlessness of their countrymen, than at this flagrant violation of the treaty of Granada, flew to arms, and succeeded in inflicting on the Spanish cavaliers wellnigh the most humiliating defeat that had ever stained the lustre of their contests with the Moslem. But the hardy mountaineers dared not await the terrible revenge that Ferdinand prepared to take, and despairing of aid, consented to submit to the terms he offered. Those who preferred to depart, and could muster the ten doblas a head, which was the price of this privilege, were conveyed in Spanish galleys to the Barbary coast, while by far the greater number were constrained to stay and submit to baptism[1].

The Spanish Sovereigns still dissatisfied.

Thus, at length, the Spanish sovereigns had the satisfaction of beholding the banner of the Cross waving through the length and breadth of the hitherto impregnable Sierras. But they were not as yet satisfied. In the kingdom of Castile there still remained traces of the old leaven, and sturdy upholders of Islamism, on whom persuasion and the sword had equally little effect. To prevent contamination, therefore, a decree was passed in the year

[1] Prescott, II. 110.

1501, forbidding all intercourse between such hardened infidels and the converted kingdom of Granada. And when this was found insufficient to prevent the tares mingling with the wheat, a *pragmatica* was passed on the 12th of February, 1502, directing that the plan proposed by Ximenes, in his conference with the sovereigns two years before, should be carried out.

In very similar terms to those employed in the famous edict against the Jews, it set forth the solemn obligation of the Catholic sovereigns to banish infidelity from the land; and then went on to enumerate the many dangers of backsliding, which the new converts must inevitably incur, if permitted to mingle with their still obdurate brethren; and concluded by enacting that all unbaptized Moors in the kingdom of Castile, if males, above fourteen years of age, if females, above twelve, must leave the country before the end of the following April, and taking the proceeds of their property in anything save gold and silver, and regularly prohibited merchandize, emigrate to any part of the world, "save the dominions of the grand Turk, and such parts of Africa as were not at peace with Spain." If they failed to do this, confiscation of property or death were denounced as the certain penalty. Castilian writers pass over the history of the execution of this decree as too insignificant to be noticed, and also, we may believe, from the very scanty number of emigrants; a "circumstance not to be wondered at," observes Mr Prescott, "as there were very few, probably, who would not sooner imitate their Granadine brethren in assuming the mask of Christianity, than encounter exile under all the aggravated miseries with which it was accompanied[1]."

It was while the Spaniard was thus maddened with centuries of conflict with the infidel at home, and when his spirit had drunk deep of intolerance, that a new field

[1] Prescott, II. 113.

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A.D. 1484. *New field for missionary enterprise.*

for missionary zeal was opened up in the New World. Already the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded by Bartolemé Diaz, in 1484, and the foundation of the Portuguese Indian Empire had been laid by Alfonso Albuquerque, in 1508. In the same year, moreover, that the Spanish sovereigns witnessed the fall of Granada, Columbus landed on the isle of San Salvador, and the countless wealth of the New World attracted thousands from the shores of Europe. The Portuguese and Spanish navigators had indeed secured the patronage of the Pope for their great enterprises, and they had promised wherever they planted their flag, there to be zealous also in planting the Christian faith[1]. But their zeal, even when not choked by the rising lust of wealth and territorial power, took, too often, a one-sided direction. Thus the Portuguese turned their energies towards repressing the Syrian Christians, and interfering with the Abyssinian Church[2], while from the pathetic narrative of Bartolemé de las Casas we can only too truly estimate the meaning of the expression, "the conversion of the Indians," put forward as the ostensible pretext of Spanish conquest. The measure of mercy and justice already meted out to the infidel at home, had consigned multitudes in the New World, who would not instantly renounce their heathen errors at the bidding of their Spanish masters, to indiscriminate massacre, or abject slavery. And the feelings which the Spanish conquerors had inspired in their new subjects is terribly illustrated, by the memorable reply of an Indian chief when urged by Velasquez, at the stake, to embrace Christianity, in order that he might be admitted into heaven. "And shall I meet the white man there?" asked the wretched victim. When he was answered in the affirmative, "Then," said he, "I will not be a Christian;

[1] Hardwick, 337 *n.*

[2] Geddes' *History of the Church of Malabar*, p. 4. Hardwick, 338 *n.* *Reformation*, p. 437.

for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel[1]." CHAP. XVII.

"This reply," as Mr Prescott truly remarks, "is more eloquent than a volume of invective," and reveals only too truly the spirit that was abroad. The same spirit characterized the conquests of Cortéz, and tinged all his attempts to convert the Indians. If milder measures did not achieve their object, the Spanish cavalier was ever ready to employ force; nor was the efficacy of any conversion, however sudden, however violent, doubted for a single moment[2]. The war, in which he was taking part, he deemed a "holy war;" it was for the *faith* he was in arms, and for a champion of the Cross to be careless about the souls of his heathen foes, was to disgrace at once his chivalry and his creed. Into any details of the campaigns of the conqueror of Mexico we do not intend to enter; they belong to a later period than that with which we are concerned, and the missions they originated were the commencement of a distinct series, which would require special and separate notice. Suffice it here to say, that the terrible system of *repartimientos* sadly marred the success of his proselytizing efforts. The native *teocalli* might be overthrown, the huge uncouth wooden idols torn down from their foundations, the cruel sacrifices of human victims might be interdicted, the image of the Virgin might replace that of the god of rain, or of the terrible Huitzilopotchli, the Christian altar might be raised, and amidst solemn ceremony and procession be surmounted by the uplifted Cross, but the cupidity of the colonists, and the compulsory service they exacted of their conquered converts, were a sad commentary on the faith they sought to propagate[3]. Here and there, indeed, there might be bright exceptions; Dominican missionaries might protest against A.D. 1519.

[1] Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 71.

[2] Prescott, p. 88.

[3] Five bishoprics had been established in A.D. 1520.

CHAP. XVII. A.D. 1519.

the cruelty of the system, and strive to lighten the yoke of the oppressed. But their protests were too often the protests of despair. The Aztec worship, indeed, disappeared, and the altar no more reeked with the gore of human sacrifices. But the Spanish cavalier sacrificed too often on the altar of Cupidity, to render the conversion of his new subjects either genuine or lasting.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RETROSPECT AND REFLECTIONS.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ, Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.—S. MATT. xxviii. 20.

Now that we have reached those limits of our subject which we do not intend to exceed, it may not be amiss to look back, for a short space, on the course we have traversed in the preceding pages, and to notice the chief peculiarities of the missionary history of the Middle Ages.

Characteristics of the Mediæval Period.

Respecting the Mediæval period itself, it is useful to bear in mind that it was one of transition, a period not ultimate, but intermediate and preliminary. Trite and commonplace as the observation may seem, it is one which must not be put out of sight, when we wish to form an estimate of the value of the efforts made during this period to propagate the Gospel. Starting from the time when the Christian Church had wellnigh absorbed into herself whatever was good in the culture of the Greek and Roman world, we paused at the dawn of the bright morning of the last three hundred years, which have given birth to what has not been inaptly called Teutonic, as contrasted with Latin Christianity. As, then, was the period of the Middle Ages, so was its missionary work, being to a great extent, from the nature of the case, disciplinary and preparatory. During the first part of this period the Church was

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called to undertake one of the most difficult tasks that could have been presented to her energies and her zeal. Herself scarcely recovering from the shock of the barbarian invasions, she was called to train and civilize races fresh from their native wilds, filled with all the ardour and impetuosity of youth, and ignorant of the first principles of order and settled life. The stage of culture they had attained was low, they were little capable of discerning the outward from the inward, the letter from the spirit; and before learning the simplest lesson in Christian civilization, they had to unlearn a ferocity and a lawlessness which made them at first a terror even to their teachers[1].

Declension of the Church from its original simplicity.

Moreover, it cannot be denied that the Church herself, in her contact with the world, had lost much of her original simplicity, and that the form of Christianity which she presented to the new races for their reception was not that of purer and apostolic times. But, however defective may have been the development attained during this period, it may be pleaded, on the one hand, that it was almost inevitable from the nature of the case, and, on the other, that it was adapted as a transitionary stage for the childhood of these races, which needed parental discipline before they could learn or value independence, needed to be governed before they could govern themselves. At the first promulgation of the Faith, the old Roman Empire had, in the providence of God, supplied the framework which held

[1] It has been well remarked by Professor Ranke, that "the task of bending the refractory spirit of the Northern tribes to the pure laws of Christian truth was no light one. Wedded, as these nations were, to their long-cherished superstitions, the religious element required a long predominance before it could gain entire possession of the German character; but by this predominance that close union of Latin and German elements was effected, on which is based the character of Europe in later times. There is a spirit of community in the modern world which has always been regarded as the basis of its progressive improvement, whether in religion, politics, manners, social life or literature. To bring about this community, it was necessary that the Western nations should, at one period, constitute what may be called a single politico-ecclesiastical state." Ranke's *History of the Popes*, I. 22.

together the various masses of social life, which the Gospel was intended to pervade. Similarly, during this period, a great Latin Christian empire was, if not needed, at least overruled, to address the nations in language legal and formal, and to naturalize Christianity in the West. If the age of the Primitive Church may be compared to the Patriarchal period of Jewish history, that of the Mediæval Church may be likened to the Mosaic dispensation, or period of legal discipline, destined, indeed, after performing its office, to vanish away, but, while it was needed, "of great consequence and undeniable aptitude[1]."

1. Contrast between the Mediæval and Apostolic Missions.

i. Such being the characteristics of the period itself, the first feature in its missionary work which calls for remark, is the contrast between the efforts then made to propagate the Gospel and those of the first age of the Church. During the "Century of Wonders," as it has been called, we are chiefly struck by the presence of direct miraculous agency and spiritual gifts, and the corresponding absence of temporal aid. In the sub-apostolic period, again, Christianity found a point of contact with the Greek and Roman mind, as well as a distinct national culture which it could purify and transfigure. It found also a language long prepared for its service, in which it could speak everywhere to the intellect, the reason, the conscience of its hearers. It was the season too of its "first love;" hence the complete antagonism of the first believers towards paganism, their repudiation of all compromise, their studious renunciation of all heathen principles and practices. It was the season, lastly, of the Church's struggle always for toleration, sometimes for existence. Hence, her conversions were individual rather than national, the new faith made its way from below rather than from above; not "many wise, not

[1] Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation*, I. 168. Kurtz's *Church History*, I. 283. Schaaf's *Apostolic Age*, p. 42. Compare also some remarks in Stanley's *Sermons on the Apostolical Age*, p. 105.

CHAP. XVIII. many mighty, not many noble," had as yet been called the early Church was working her way, in the literal sense of the word, "underground, under camp and palace, under senate and forum, 'as unknown and yet well known, as dying and behold it lived[1].'"

Circumstances of the early Mediæval Church.

But even before the period which has occupied our attention, all this had passed away. The consolation of the slave, or the fugitive in the catacombs, had become the creed of the emperor. Instead of pleading for toleration, the Church had learned to be aggressive. The Greek fathers had moulded her creeds, Rome had regulated her laws, and bequeathed to her its own love of organisation. No longer in dread of the caprice or malice of the occupant of the imperial throne, with fixed institutions, magistrates, and power, she awaited the coming of the new races. For awhile, indeed, her own safety seemed in peril, but when the agitated elements of society had been calmed, and the flood had subsided, she emerged to present to the world the one single stable institution that had survived the shock. In her dealings, therefore, with the new races, there was a great change from the missions of the first age. Whereas the latter had, from the necessity of the times, worked upwards from below,

National conversions.

till at length the number of the converts became too great and too influential to be ignored by the ruler, and the voice from the catacombs found an echo in the palace, during the Mediæval period all this was reversed. With an almost monotonous uniformity, in Ireland and England, in Southern and Northern Germany, among the Slavonic as well as the Scandinavian nations, the conversion of the people followed that of the king or chief.

The fourth century, indeed, presents the somewhat anomalous spectacle of the Emperor Constantine, as yet unbap-

[1] Stanley's *Introd. Lecture on Eccl. History*, p. xxxviii.

tized, taking an active part in Christian preaching[1], but turn where we will in this age, we cannot but be struck with the religious aspect of the temporal ruler[2]. Severinus addresses his exhortations to Rugian, Remigius to rough Frankish chiefs; the apostle of Ireland to Celtic, the founder of Iona to Pictish princes. It is Ethelbert in Kent, Sigebert in Essex, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy in Northumbria, who take the lead in the work of evangelizing their subjects. Columbanus rebukes Thierri and Brunehaut; Boniface discusses his missions in Thuringia in the courts of Austrasian kings; his disciples follow in the track of Charlemagne's victorious armies. It is with a prince of Denmark that Anskar embarks on his first missionary voyage; it is to Bogoris, the Bulgarian chief, that the Greek "philosopher" displays the awful picture of the Last Day. A Polish duke supplies all the necessities of the apostle of Pomerania, another welcomes him on entering the land he had come to evangelize, and offers to protect him with a regiment of soldiers; and if anything were wanting to complete the picture, it is supplied by the record of the Greek mission to Russia, where the religious aspect of the temporal ruler finds its highest expression, and Vladimir bears the same title as Constantine, "Isapostolos," *Vladimir equal to an apostle*[3].

Aristocratic feature of the Mediæval missions.

Of this feature in the missions of this period various

Explanations of this feature.

[1] Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 198.

[2] This feature is distinctly alluded to by one of the Pomeranian dukes on the occasion of one of Bishop Otho's missionary tours: "Superest modo," he says, "ut nos, qui primi et majores dicimus ac sumus, nostræ dignitati consulamus, tam dignissimæ rei consentientes, ut populus, qui nobis subjectus est, nostro possit erudiri exemplo. Quicquid enim religionis vel honestatis secundum Deum vel homines aggrediendum est, justius atque docentius autumo, ut a capite hoc in membra, quam ut a membris derivetur in caput. Et in primitiva quidem ecclesia, sicut audivimus, religio fidei Christianæ a plebe et plebeiis personis incipiens, ad mediocres progressa, etiam maximos hujus mundi principes involvit; reddamus vicem Ecclesiæ Primitivæ, ut a nobis principibus incipiens et usque ad mediocres progressa, facili proventu totum populum et gentem sanctificatio divinæ religionis illustret." Herbordi *Vita Ottonis*, III. 3.

[3] Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 307.

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explanations have been offered. Some have ascribed it t the deliberate policy of the missionaries themselves; other have dwelt on the aristocratic character of society in Ger manic tribes, on the docile and imitative tendencies of th Slavonic races. But we need not linger over these specu lations. The success of the Mediæval missionary did no more depend on the "will of princes," than that of th Reformation movement in every country that became Pro testant in the sixteenth century[1], than that of many mis sionaries in modern times. If Boniface writes "withou the patronage of the Frankish kings I can neither gover the people, exercise discipline over the clergy and monks nor prohibit heathen rites," he expresses no more tha the convictions of the missionaries, who, the other day addressed the king of Madagascar, and sought his protec tion and encouragement in their work.

Important results of royal marriages.

And if the success of the missionary depended so much on the smile or frown of the prince, we cannot fail t have noticed how often the conversion of the prince him self was due to alliance with a Christian queen. The story of Clovis and Clotilda, of Ethelbert and Bertha, o Edwin and Ethelburga, of Vladimir and Anne, repeats itself again and again. It has been observed that the interpretation adopted generally by early Christian writers of the words of St Paul, "*What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O husband, whether thou shalt save thy wife?*" exercised no small influence, in early times, in promoting the con version of unbelieving husbands by believing wives[2]. At any rate, the saying of Chrysostom, that "no teacher has so much effect in conversion as a wife[3]," has been

[1] Prof. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, p. 87.

[2] See the observations in Fabricii *Lux Evang.* chap. 29, "de propagatione Christianismi per connubia."

[3] See Stanley's Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 16.

verified not only in the instance of the two great kingdoms of France and England, but accounts, in some measure, for those rapid conversions of whole tribes, which form so characteristic a feature in the missionary annals of this period. The intermarriage of the Goths with their Christian captives in the days of Ulphilas, of the Saxons with their British subjects in England[1], of the Northmen with the Franks in Normandy, will explain much that is otherwise perplexing, and in the latter case will suggest a reason why the followers of Rollo ceased to be Teutons as well as Pagans, became Frenchmen as well as Christians[2]. CHAP. XVIII.

ii. If, for a moment, we turn to the leaders of the great Mediæval missions, we can hardly fail to be struck with the immense influence of individual energy and personal character. Around individuals penetrated with zeal and self-denial centres the life, nay, the very existence of the Churches of Europe. In the most troubled epochs of these troublous times, they always appeared to do the work of their day and their generation. "*I am with you always, even unto the end of the world*," said the ascending Saviour to His first apostles. Again and again we have seen that promise fulfilled. While the Roman world was sinking in an abyss of decrepitude, and the continent of Europe was the scene of the wildest disorder and confusion, still there were men raised up like Ulphilas and Severinus, to sow amongst these new races the seeds of civilization, before they took up their positions on the ruins of the empire[3]. When the light of the Frankish Church waxed dim, and missionary zeal grew cold, a beacon was kindled in the secluded Celtic Churches of Ireland and Scotland, whence, in the words of Alcuin, "the light of truth might give shine to many parts of the world," and ii. *Immense influence of individual energy.*

[1] Prof. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, p. 61.
[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, II. 434. [3] Chap. II.

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Illustrated during (i) the Teutonic

the disciples of St Columba go forth in troops to Switzerland and Southern Germany[1]. When the British Church in our own island failed to evangelize her Teuton invaders, a Gregory was ready to send an Augustine[2] to her shores, whose disciples laboured here, side by side with the enthusiastic colonists of sea-girt Hy, till the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was complete[3]. Then when the Teuton of the Continent was crying from his native forests, like the Macedonian of old, "*Come over and help us*," the sons of the early evangelized Anglo-Saxon Church were prepared, in their turn, to go forth and emulate the zeal, which had already erected the monasteries of Luxeuil and St Gall in the forests of Switzerland[4], and Teutons themselves, to evangelize the Teutons of Frisia and Northern Germany. Thus, again, when the Churches of Germany needed organization, a monk of Nutescelle was raised up to labour with unwearied zeal in Thuringia and Hessia[5], and to bequeath his martyr spirit to numerous scholars and disciples, a Gregory, a Sturmi, a Liudger, who lived but to carry on the work he had inaugurated, and to cover the face of Germany with monasteries and churches[6]. When, lastly, on the death of Charlemagne, the barks of the terrible Northmen were prowling round every coast, and carrying havoc and desolation into the fairest fields of France and England, even then an Anskar[7] was found to go forth with dauntless bravery, and lay the foundations of the Church of Denmark and Sweden, carrying the Gospel into the very home of the Scandinavian Vikings.

(ii) *The Slavonic missions.*

It was the same with the Slavonic nations. A Cyril and a Methodius were ready to go forth into Bohemia and Moravia[8], an Otho to pene-

[1] Chap. VII.
[2] Chap. V.
[3] Chap. VI.
[4] Chap. VIII.
[5] Chap. IX.
[6] Chap. X.
[7] Chap. XI.
[8] Chap. XIII.

trate into the furthest recesses of fanatical Pomerania[1], a Vicelin to toil amidst discouragements of every kind, in behalf of the savage Wends. Nay, when the Crusading spirit had sunk deeply into the heart of European society, and the patience of an Anskar was exchanged for the fiery zeal of the champion of the Cross, we have seen how even then, there was a Raymund Lull[2] to protest against propagandism by the sword, to develop "a more excellent way" for winning over the Moslems, and to seal his constancy with his blood outside the gates of Bugia. Thus, even in the darkest times there were ever some streaks of light, and the leaven destined to quicken the whole lump was never altogether inert or ineffectual. Take away these men, blot out their influence, and how materially would events have varied! They had their defects, no one can deny,—the defects of their day and their generation. We may question the wisdom of many of the expedients to which they resorted; we may smile at much that savours of credulity and superstition[3]; we may regret that at times

Importance of these efforts.

[1] Chap. XIV.

[2] Chap. XV.

[3] Respecting the credulity of the Mediæval age it has been well observed:—"When a man lives in a comfortable house in a populous country, where his daily wants are supplied without toil, where medical aid is at hand on the slightest symptoms of disease, where violent deaths are almost unknown, and beasts of prey and venomous reptiles are almost fabulous, it is then that we cease to trace every misadventure that occurs, or every trifling peril, to the direct interposition of a higher power. But place that man with all his acquired knowledge—with all the "glorious gains" of the nineteenth century—in a remote wilderness, with no literature to distract his thoughts from the solitude of nature—with no newspapers or scientific tracts to explain to him the last theory of electricity, or the latest sanative discoveries—with the thunder pealing over his head, and the wolves howling in the forest—with only a few companions, whose converse will rather serve to give form and shape to his sensations of awe, than to drive them away; and such a man, we maintain, will, in process of time, lose all that indifference to the invisible with which education has clothed him; his so-called enlightenment will crumble away from him like plaster, and the naked human being remain, whose first instincts direct him to rely on divine aid, who sees some Divine Power in the clouds and in the winds, in the pestilence and the famine, and but the visible agents of his wrath in the serpent and the tiger." From an Article on St Columba, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, Sept. 1857.

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they were induced to have recourse to "pious frauds" in carrying out their work: the extreme asceticism of Columbanus, the policy of Augustine in dealing with the British bishops, the pertinacity of Wilfrid at the Council of Whitby, the devotion of every Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Roman see, all these, and many other points, may be regarded by us, in a very different age, as worthy of reprobation, but considering the circumstances of the times in which they lived, it becomes us to speak kindly of men who hazarded their lives to hand down to us the blessings of civilization.

iii. *Prominence of the Monastic orders.*

iii. In close connexion with the agents themselves is observable the prominence of the monastic orders. With scarcely an exception, every missionary, who has been mentioned in the preceding pages, was bound by monastic vows. Monasticism founded the Celtic Churches in Ireland and Scotland; already existed in England when the Saxon invader appeared on her shores; fled with the British Church to the fastnesses of Wales and Cumberland; returned with Augustine to the coast of Kent; with Aidan to the Farne islands; with Columbanus penetrated the forests of Switzerland; with Winfrid civilized Thuringia and Frisia; with Sturmi opened up the forests of Buchonia; with Anskar found an entrance into Denmark and Sweden; with Methodius and Cyril visited Bulgaria, Moravia, and Bohemia; with members of the Cistercian order penetrated Lithuania and Prussia; with ardent disciples of St Francis and St Dominic confronted Mahometan Soldans, and preached the word in China.

Necessity for such an agency, at least in the earlier period.

If we would estimate aright the necessity for such pioneers, at least in the earlier portion of the period with which we are concerned, let us glance for a moment at the condition of the provinces subject to the Roman Empire, at the time of the inroad of the barbarian races. Little change for the better did their social life experience

as the ring of Empire widened and embraced, one after another, Greece and the lesser Asia, Syria and Northern Africa, Spain and Gaul. Crushed under a weight of merciless taxation, drained of their population by repeated levies for the imperial armies, Italy, and Gaul, and even more distant provinces, almost ceased to till the soil. Many tracts were given up to the wasteful tenure of discharged soldiers, and tilled by the manacled hands of slaves. Native chieftains aspiring to the pomp and state of the Roman patrician, exalted themselves to their fancied dignity on the ruins of the yeomanry class, the kernel of the nation's life. To use the words of Sir James Stephen, describing the condition of the Romano-Gallic Province, "They ejected the old tenantry or clansmen from their ancient holdings, to constitute from the aggregation of them one of those vast estates or latifundia, which were cultivated entirely by slaves, for the behoof of the proprietors alone, and to which Pliny and Columella joined in ascribing the ruin of Italy. From that vast territory they drew the means of boundless self-indulgence, but left to the husbandman nothing beyond the most scanty allowance of the bare necessaries of human existence; and when they were hurried by fatigue, by want, and by sickness to premature graves, they recruited their number from the Roman slave-markets[1]."

Condition of the Roman imperial provinces.

And when this work of depopulation had gone on for centuries, what was likely to be the condition of the more remote country districts in Gaul or on the banks of the Rhine, when they were exposed to the ravages of barbarian tribes, as careless of the arts of agriculture as the imperial legions they expelled? How were they and their wretched populations likely to fare, when their land became a beaten highway for the passage of the nations,

Further disorganization on the irruption of the barbarians.

[1] Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*, I. 27. Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, II. 316.

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Villages disappear.

As it was in the times of the Judges in Israel, so was it now[1]. "The villages ceased," they ceased throughout the land. Towns deserted by their inhabitants completely disappeared, or could be traced with difficulty by the attentive traveller under the thick overgrowth of dense woods,

Spread of forests.

as in the instance of Anegray and Luxeuil when visited by Columbanus and Gallus. Temples and baths, villas and streets, became a mass of crumbling ruins, over which the tangled underwood gradually extended its sway, till at length it joined the immense and impenetrable forests which always were a prominent feature in the scenery of Gaul and Germany, and formed, by the thick growth of maple and birch, aspen and witch-elm, a boundless wilderness of forest-trees[2]. "On the North of the Rhine alone," writes Montalembert, "six great deserts existed at the end of the sixth century; towards the North the wooded regions became more and more profound and extensive. We must imagine Gaul and all the neighbouring countries, the whole extent of France, Switzerland, Belgium, and both banks of the Rhine,—that is to say, the richest and most populous countries of modern Europe,—covered with such forests as are scarcely to be seen in America, and of which there does not remain the slightest trace in the ancient world. We must figure to ourselves these masses of sombre and impenetrable wood covering hills and valleys, the high table-land as well as the marshy bottoms, broken here and there by water-courses which laboriously forced a way for themselves across the

[1] On the analogy of the period of the Judges with that of the Middle Ages, see Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, p. 308.

[2] Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, p. 299.

roots of fallen trees, perpetually divided by bogs and marshes, and inhabited by innumerable wild beasts[1], whose ferocity had scarcely been accustomed to fly before man, and of which many different species have since almost completely disappeared from our country." The infant agriculture of the Germanic tribes, which knew no landmarks or boundaries, which until the reign of Charlemagne knew no towns, save the few built by the Romans along the Rhine and the Danube, was ever ready to give way to the more congenial occupations of the chase and the pastoral life[2]. CHAP. XVIII.

Monastic pioneers.

And now, as from the gloom of these solitudes, a gloom so much in harmony with the worship of Thor and Woden, the new races, wild and wasteful, without prudence or forethought or steady industry, burst forth on the towns and cities of Southern Europe, according as internal wars or factions drove them forth to seek new homes, the question was, Who would seek them out? Who would brave all dangers in preaching to them the Word of Life? Who would settle down amongst them, improve their infant agriculture, and instil the first principles of civilization? It was a momentous question, but it was answered. Armed with none of the inventions of modern industry and mechanical art, strong only in invisible protection, the Monastery sent forth its sons to carry light and life into these dark forests[3].

[1] See above, p. 149, *note*. Compare also *Vita S. Magni*, capp. iii. viii. In chap. xviii. we have an account of some enormous water-snakes, and in chap. xxii. of an encounter between this missionary in Switzerland and a huge serpent, which he went out to meet, "mittens in peram suam panem sanctificatum, et manu sua sumens picem et resinam, atque cambuttam S. Galli, crucemque in collo appendens!"

[2] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, II. 376.

[3] "It is an ugly thing for an unarmed man, without a compass, to traverse the bush of Australia or New Zealand, where there are no wild beasts. But it was uglier still to start out under the dark roof of that primeval wood. Knights, when they rode it, went armed cap-à-pie, like Sintram through the dark valley, trusting in God and their good sword. Chapmen and merchants

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Rise of Western Monasticism.

The first sight, indeed, of the quaint garb of the monks in the train of the great Athanasius, found little favour with the Roman citizens, when he visited their city in the year 341. But very soon the Paulas and Marcellinas of the capital caught the spirit of Eastern monachism. The little islands off the coasts of Italy and Dalmatia were quickly dotted with monastic cells; the peaceful lauras of Nitria and Mesopotamia were reproduced in the recesses of the Apennines, in the forests of Gaul, and the Sierras of Spain. Celtic enthusiasm peopled the monasteries of Ireland with numbers of ardent votaries, and sent forth hosts of missionary monks to evangelize the nations.

Celtic missionaries.

Strange, very strange, to the heathen Suevians and Allmannen must have appeared these Celtic pioneers of civilization[1]. Travelling generally in companies, with long flowing hair, some parts of their bodies, especially the eyelids, tattooed, provided with long walking-sticks[2], and leathern wallets, with cases of books and relics, they flocked across the sea, and landed on the Western shores of France, and after paying their devotions at the shrine of St Martin, pressed on to some forest in Switzerland or Franconia, and there, all obedient to one man, all, as they

stole through it by a few tracks in great companies, armed with bill and bow. Peasants ventured into it a few miles, to cut timber, and find pannage for their swine, and whispered wild legends of the ugly things therein—and sometimes, too, never came home. Away it stretched, from the fair Rhineland, wave after wave of oak and alder, beech and pine, God alone knew how far, into the land of night and wonder, and the infinite unknown; full of elk and bison, bear and wolf, lynx and glutton, and perhaps of worse beasts still."—"The Monks and the Heathen," in *Good Words*, Jan. 1863.

[1] See above, Chap. VII. p. 134 n.; to the authorities there cited may be added a translation with notes by Dr Reeves of Dr Zeller's *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vol. VIII. p. 217. See also a curious paper from the *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, printed by the Camden Society, London, 1840.

[2] And a staff, "arripiens cambuttam, quam a B. Gallo acceperat, et crucem quam secum portabat." *Vita S. Maymi*, cap. xviii. See also *Vita S. Fiacrii*, Messingham's *Florileg.* 390.

styled themselves, "Soldiers of Christ," they settled down. Before long the wooden huts arose, with the little chapel and round tower or steeple by its side, with the abbot's house, the refectory, the kitchen, the barn for the grain, and other buildings[1]. And here they lived and prayed and studied, and tilled the waste. Before long the fame of their leader would spread abroad far and wide. The pagan saw that he cared little for Frankish count or king; in their palaces he was no "reed shaken by the wind;" a Thierri quailed before him; a Brunehaut could not endure his pure and upright life, or the rigour with which firmly and fearlessly he would rebuke all cruelty and sensuality. Such a man the simple people could not but revere. He might be austere at times, he might with more zeal than love protest against their idolatry; but to the widow and the orphan, to the lame and the blind, to the sick and the afflicted[2], he was ever a friend, for them he ever had words of comfort, and mysterious consolation; they might not understand his doctrines, but they could understand his *life*[3].

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Their influence.

And thus the first part of the work was done, and time rolled on, and different orders were established; and it soon became clear that if the world was to be carried through the dissolution of the old society, if the various tribes were to be gathered into the fold of the Church, the different monastic orders must become one, they must pre-

The different orders.

[1] See above, p. 136. To the authorities quoted in Petrie's *Round Towers* as to the existence of these towers in the Irish monasteries, may be added *Vita S. Virgilii*, Messingham's *Florilegium*, p. 334.

[2] This is well illustrated in the life of the celebrated S. Fiacre, an Irish anchorite, who established a monastery at Breuil about the year 628. "Avulso nemore monasterium construxit...flagrabat undique opinio illius sancta, et multi ad eum venirebant; et ut haberet, unde necessitatibus advenientium subveniret, et de laboribus manuum suarum inopiam pauperum relevaret, visum est ei quod amplior et spatiosior locus foret utilis, et necessarius ad hortum faciendum, ad plantandum olera et aliarum herbarum diversarum genera." Messingham, 390.

[3] On the subsequent degeneracy of the Scottish foundations on the continent, see the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, VII. 312 sq.

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sent the appearance of an united army, firm, and compact. The crisis was a momentous one, but it had already produced a Benedict. With his marvellous genius for organization he consolidated the various rules, and while Gallus and his companions were erecting their Celtic monasteries in Switzerland, troops of Anglo-Saxons were preparing to come forth and establish the Benedictine rule. And now, indeed, the missionary monk became the colonizer. The practised eye of men like Boniface or Sturmi sought out the proper site with heroic diligence, saw that it occupied a central position, that it possessed a fertile soil, that it was near some friendly watercourse. These points secured, the word was given; the trees were felled, the forest cleared, and the monastic buildings rose. Soon the voice of prayer was heard, and the mysterious chant and solemn litany awoke unwonted echoes in the forest-glades. While some of the brethren educated the young, others copied manuscripts, or toiled over the illuminated missal, or transcribed a Gospel or an Epistle, others cultivated the soil, guided the plough[1], planted the apple-tree or the vine, arranged the bee-hives, erected the water-mill, opened the mine, and thus presented to the eyes of men the kingdom of Christ, as that of One Who had redeemed the bodies no less than the souls of His creatures.

consolidated by S. Benedict.

Importance of their labours.

Such were the men whom the Providence of God raised up to do the work of their day and their generation. Their numbers, their union, their singular habits, their constant services, could not fail to attract the notice of the heathen nations[2]. They saw in them the pioneers not less of a moral than a physical civilization. With themselves force and brute strength were everything, with these mysterious strangers they appeared as nothing. On the one

[1] See the Excursus "de cultu soli Germanici per Benedictinos," Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* III, Præf. Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, II. 262.

[2] See Grant's *Bampton Lect.* p. 134.

side was a horror of all dependence, an indomitable spirit of restlessness, on the other was a life of continued self-sacrifice and obedience[1]. "Never were instruments less conscious of the high ends they were serving, never were high ends more rapidly or more effectually achieved." Grant that afterwards these institutions "clear in the spring" proved "miry in the stream;" grant that in the days of their prosperity and ease, when the original necessities which called them forth had ceased to operate, they forgat their original simplicity, and became too often a byword and a proverb; yet we must not forget what European civilization owes to the self-devotion of a Columbanus and a Gallus, a Boniface and a Sturmi. "The monks," writes Livingstone, "did not disdain to hold the plough[2]. They introduced fruit-trees, flowers, vegetables, in addition to teaching and emancipating the serfs. Their monasteries were mission stations, which resembled ours in being dispensaries for the sick, alms-houses for the poor, and nurseries of learning. Can we learn nothing from them in their prosperity as the schools of Europe, and see naught in their history but the pollution and laziness of their decay?" CHAP. XVIII.

iv. Next to the prominence in the missionary work of the middle ages, of the monastic orders, few points are more deserving of note, than the important aid which the work received from the superintendence of Bishops, and the deliberations of ecclesiastical Councils. Without entering into the vexed question as to the expediency of placing bishops at the head of missions *in the first instance*[3], we cannot but iv. *Episcopal superintendence.*

[1] Guizot's *Lectures on Civilization*, I. 120. Ozanam, p. 92.

[2] "The experience of all ages," observes Neander, "teaches us that Christianity has only made a firm and living progress, where, from the first, it has brought with it the seeds of all human culture, although they can be only developed by degrees." *Light in Dark Places*, p. 417. Compare Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Missions*, pp. 116, 117.

[3] See the *Report of the Committee of Convocation on Missionary Bishops*, presented to the Lower House, Jan. 25, 1860.

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notice how, during the Mediæval period from first to last, the introduction of Christianity amongst any tribe was followed up as speedily as possible by the establishment of episcopal government. The first seeds of the Gospel may have been sown by inferior ministers, by the influence of a Christian queen, by the faithfulness of captives, by Christian merchants during trading voyages, and many other ways; but, uniformly in conformity with Apostolic practice, the management of the infant Churches was entrusted to a local episcopate. Sometimes a bishop headed from the first a body of voluntary adventurers; more often, as soon as any considerable success had been achieved, one of the energetic pioneers was advanced to the episcopal rank, and in this capacity superintended the staff of monks or clergy attending him, ordaining, as soon as possible, a native ministry from amongst the converted tribes, and establishing a cathedral or corresponding ecclesiastical foundation[1].

Usefulness of such a provision.

And in such a course we trace, not merely, a conformity to primitive tradition, or an empty craving after hierarchical display, but we see that such a provision had other recommendations of the most practical character. Already before the inroad of the new races, the Bishops had become not only a kind of privy council to the Emperor, but were regarded in almost every town as the natural chiefs. They governed the people in the interior of the city; they alone stood bravely by their flocks when the barbarous host appeared before the defenceless town; while the civil magistrate and military leader often sought safety in flight, they alone were found able and willing to mediate between the people and the heathen chief, and to inspire him with awe. It is no wonder, then, that on the conversion of any district, the native king or chieftain was glad to have near him one who could assume the functions of the pagan high-priest, and advise him in any matter of civil or reli-

[1] See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, II. 360.

gious moment. To influence, moreover, the various chiefs, to counteract the power of the native priesthood, it was very desirable that the bishop should at least stand on a footing of equality with the nobles. To say that when placed in this position, and in his priestly character regarded as superior to the king himself, he was prone to abuse his influence, and to foster many corruptions he ought to have checked, is only to say that he was not above the ordinary temptations of human nature. We know, at any rate, what his generation expected from him. We know how it was required of the bishop that he should "ever be busied with reconciliation and peace, as he best might; that he should zealously appease strifes, and effect peace with those temporal judges who love right, that in accusations he should direct the *láð*, so that no man might wrong another, either in oath or ordeal; that he should not consent to any injustice, or wrong measure, or false weight; that every legal right should go with his counsel and with his witness; that, together with temporal judges, he should so direct judgments, that, as far as in him lay, he should never permit any injustice to spring up there; that he should ever exalt righteousness, and suppress unrighteousness; that he should flinch neither before the lowly nor the powerful, because he doeth naught if he fear or be ashamed to speak righteousness[1]." This was certainly no mean standard; and however far the bishops may at times have come short of it, it was a matter of no small importance to have in the court of the newly-converted chief, one who, by the duties of his office, was bound to be a counterpoise to the rude and capricious government of a military aristocracy, a mediator between the noble and the serf, a defender of the weak and the oppressed. The interposition of Boniface in the matter of Gewillieb's suc-

Duties of the bishops.

[1] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, Vol. II. 393.

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cession to the bishopric of Mayence is one instance out of many, which must often have occurred in those times of constant warfare, where the bishop's exalted position enabled him to speak out boldly against a positive wrong and to speak with effect. Of the Anglo-Saxon bishops it has been said by Kemble, "whatever their class interests may from time to time have led them to do, let it be remembered that they existed as a permanent mediating authority between the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, and that, to their eternal honour, they fully comprehended and performed the duties of this most noble position. To none but themselves would it have been permitted to stay the strong hand of power, to mitigate the just severity of the law, to hold out a glimmering of hope to the serf, to find a place in this world and a provision for the destitute, whose existence the state did not recognise[1]."

Kemble on the Anglo-Saxon bishops.

v. Diocesan and provincial synods.

v. And then, again, as regards the provincial and diocesan Synods, we cannot fail to have noticed how much they consolidated and supplemented missionary work. They decided not only questions of doctrine, but dealt also, and more especially, with the most important social problems of the age. We find them, from time to time, not only regulating the life and manners of the clergy, but defining the degrees of affinity, protesting against contamination with heathenism, determining the mutual relation of master and slave, laying down laws concerning false coin, theft, homicide, and sometimes enacting what we should call sumptuary laws and sanitary regulations. If our Indian government[2] boasts that during the last thirty years the enormities of Thuggee and Dacoitee have been suppressed, that piracy has been put down, that female infanticide has been checked, that Suttee has been made criminal, that slavery as a

[1] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, II. 375.

[2] *Memorandum of Improvements of the Government of the East India Company during the last Thirty Years.* Allen, 1860.

legal status and compulsory labour have been abolished, the Mediæval synods can boast of not less satisfactory results. We find them grappling with similar evils of their own day[1]; with the Teutonic and Scandinavian custom of exposing weak and deformed children; with sacrifices of men and animals in honour of the gods; with similar sacrifices at funerals; with witchcraft and sorcery of all kinds; we find them inculcating a due regard for the sacredness of human life, and the necessity for punitive justice and regular forms of law, in contradistinction to the low unworthy notions which would condone all crimes, even murder, by pecuniary fines; we find them elevating the peasant class, and striving to abolish slavery.

Gradual abolition of slavery.

In respect to the latter, the methods employed were necessarily and wisely gradual, instead of sudden and violent. The example of the Jewish legislator, who, while he was obliged to recognise slavery as an institution, yet endeavoured by all the means in his power to mitigate its evils, was followed by the Mediæval Church. As even in the Decalogue the slave in respect to his spiritual relation was pronounced equal before God, and was admitted to all religious privileges, and never considered as a mere thing or chattel, so the Church never faltered in her proclamation that the image of God was to be discerned in every human creature, that the blessings of Redemption were designed for all alike, whether bond or free. The change brought about was gradual, but it was sure. At first monks, especially Eastern monks, refused to be waited upon at all by slaves[2]. Then, as we have seen so often, missionaries never lost an opportunity of redeeming slaves, and, after suitable instruction, of admitting them to offices in the Church. Practical teaching like this gradually left its mark. The heathen proprietor was forced to regard his

Variety of methods employed.

[1] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 525 sq.

[2] Robertson's *Church History*, II. 229.

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slave with other and higher feelings than those of the Roman master, with whom it was an axiom incapable of disproof, that all men were by nature free or bondsmen[1]. The tone of public feeling was pervaded more and more with the spirit that dictated the noble words of Gregory the Great, in a deed manumitting two slaves: "As our Saviour, the Author of all created beings, was willing for this reason to take upon Him the nature of man, that He might free us by His grace from the chains of bondage, in which we were enthralled, and restore us to our original freedom; so a good and salutary thing is done, when men, whom Nature from the beginning created free, and whom the law of nations has subjected to the yoke of servitude, are presented again with the freedom in which they were born[2]." Penetrated with these sentiments, Ecclesiastical legislation restored many of the earlier edicts of Constantine[3]; declared the slave to be a *man*, and not a *thing* or *chattel;* laid it down that his life was his own, and could not be taken without public trial; imposed on a master guilty of involuntary murder of his slave, penance and exclusion from the Communion[4]; opened asylums to those who fled from their masters' cruelty; declared the enfranchisement of the serf a work acceptable to God; demanded it at times of bishops on their death-beds, as a necessary preparation for their release, or of princes at the birth of a son or any other auspicious occasion; and hallowed manumission at all times with the sanctity of a religious rite[5]. The aboli-

Language of Gregory the Great.

[1] "Omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi." Justinian, *Instit.* I. 3. Leapingwell's *Roman Civil Law*, p. 35.

[2] Greg. *Ep.* VI. 12. II. 10. ed. 1705. Compare the language of Bede, *H. E.* IV. 13, respecting the enfranchisement of slaves by Wilfrid on receiving the grant of Selsey. Again, in the *Anglo-Saxon Institutes*, Thorpe, II. 314, we find the lord enjoined to protect his thralls, on the ground that "they and those that are free are equally dear to God, who bought us all with equal value." For Alfred's legislation, see Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, III. 97.

[3] Constantini Magni *Cod.* I. tit. 13. S. Augustini *Serm.* 21.

[4] See Du Cange, sub voc. *Manumissio*, IV. 467; *Servus*, VI. 451; *Oblatus*, IV. 1286.

[5] On the influence of the Crusades on slavery, see Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures*, Vol. I. 190.

tion of domestic slavery was one of the most important duties incumbent on the missionary energies of the Mediæval Church. And "if political Helotry no more interposes to perpetuate the severance of race from race in an attitude of bitter enduring hostility, it is to the injunctions of the Church that we owe the first movement for its extinction. Her's is the credit, that prædial serfdom, the true gulph before the Roman senate-house, which the devotion of no Curtius might close, no longer swallows people after people, draining into its abyss the springs of free industry, which are the sap and sustenance of maturer civilization[1]."

Other civilizing measures.

Other expedients whereby she sought to elevate the moral and social conditon of the newly evangelized tribes belong rather to the general than the missionary history of this period. On the whole, however, we may say that the various modes of ordeal, and the "truce of God," were, at least, not unadapted to a people in a transition state from a bloodthirsty form of heathenism. We may be startled at Ecclesiastical Legislation on the subject of meats and drinks[2]; we may question the wisdom which dictated enactments of the most rigorous character respecting the due observance of the fasts of the Church; we may deem the Penitential system something worse than a mistake, and a morbid practice of self-analysis the only and the very undesirable result of the confessional. Still, after all deductions for the spirit of the times, and the habits of the age, we shall not look down with scorn on the efforts of men, who were at least sincere, not forgetting that "immunity for moral transgressions is of recent date everywhere,

[1] *Secularia*, or *Surveys on the Mainstream of History*, by Lucas, p. 25.

[2] Compare the correspondence of Pope Zacharias with Boniface on the subject of eating horseflesh, magpies, and storks, and bacon without cooking. Migne, sæc. VIII. 951.

CHAP. XVIII. except in the English Church[1]," that the Scotch and American Churches of the last century had tribunals as pitiless as any to which the Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic Churches generally were subject.

[1] See Prof. Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages in England*, p. 225, also the New England Theocracy, in Lucas' *Secularia*, p. 211.

CHAPTER XIX.

RETROSPECT AND REFLECTIONS.

"Per intervalla, nostris, id est, Christianis hujusmodi comparandæ sunt dogmatibus superstitiones, et quasi e latere tangendæ, quatenus magis confusi quam exasperati pagani erubescant pro tam absurdis opinionibus."

ED. DANIELI AD BONIFACIUM.

AND now that we have spoken of the agents in the missionary work of the middle ages, let us cast a glance at the work itself, and consider some of its more striking features.

1. *Indiscriminate baptisms.*

i. And the first which calls for remark is the national and seemingly indiscriminate baptisms, which the influence of princes secured and the Church did not hesitate to administer. It is obvious that, in the Mediæval missionary age, necessity would often dictate a departure from ordinary rules; but it is hardly possible to read of the numbers admitted to baptism, after a very limited preparation, without suspecting there was at times a far greater anxiety to multiply the number than to enlighten the minds of the proselytes. And though it is true we ought to bear in mind the fewness of the teachers, the masses of the people, and the general ignorance, still the habitual practice of thus administering the sacred rite must have been the reverse of an adequate preservative against the danger of relapse. In the instances of the baptism of the warriors of Clovis, of the ten thousand subjects of Ethelbert in

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the waters of the Swale, of the many thousand Teutons by the apostle of Germany, of the Russians in the waters of the Dnieper, of the Pomeranians by bishop Otho, the absence of adequate preparation, and the influence of the prince or king, will cause such administrations to be regarded by some as a subject for a compassionate smile, rather than for regard or forgiveness.

Difficulties of the Missionaries, from

But in forming an opinion on the subject, it ought to be borne in mind that the missionaries of this period had

(I.) *The state of society.*

to contend with more than usual difficulties. To say nothing of the relaxed condition of society, of the constant wars which were from time to time setting tribe against tribe and people against people, of the tendency on the part of the ministrants, themselves in many cases but newly converted, to regard the rite as an *opus operatum*, there were other and more formidable difficulties in regard to the

(II.) *The rudeness of their converts.*

recipients of the rite. They had known nothing of that long education under a preparatory dispensation, which had exerted its influences over those three thousand converts whom the Apostle Peter admitted into the Church in one day[1]. The revelation of an external law, and the warnings of prophets, had not made monotheism natural to them, or taught, "line upon line, precept upon precept," those elementary truths which appear to us so easy to apprehend, because we have lived in an atmosphere permeated with their influence. They were not proselytes of the gate, to whom, as anxious inquirers, like the Ethiopian eunuch, a Philip could explain the true meaning of Prophecy, and on the simple recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, receive into the Christian Church[2]. Neither were they in a condition analogous to that of the Græco-Roman world at the first promulgation of the faith, convinced of its inability to regenerate itself, and wearied of its long tossing on the ocean of uncertainty. The utter failure of art, and

[1] Acts ii. 41.

[2] Acts ix. 26—40.

science, and philosophy to solve the deepest problems of life, had not brought them, like the hero of the Clementines[1], as proselytes in riper years to the "true philosophy." Infants[2] in knowledge, in civilization, they were admitted to "infant baptism," by teachers themselves in many cases but imperfectly educated, whose whole theology was often contained in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. It was the day of small things, and the men who did not despise the day, but acted up to the extent of their knowledge, hoping for a day of greater things, reaped no inconsiderable harvest.

ii. *Mode of instruction.*

ii. We have evidence, however, of the use of a course of instruction by at least the early Mediæval missionaries, as preparatory to baptism, which was far from being unworthy of its object. It is true that their biographers have not given us such full and complete information as we could have wished respecting the order in which they considered the truths and precepts of the Gospel ought to be imparted to the inquiring heathen. Evidence, however, is not altogether wanting, and supplies us with several useful hints on this subject.

Much, indeed, has been said of a "peculiar natural and national predisposition on the part of the Teutonic nations towards Christianity[3]." Admitting, as far as it is possible, that under the poetic legends of Teutonic mythology there lay a residuum of truth, to which the new faith could attach itself, and which it could transfigure; that in its ideas respecting the origin of the world, its distorted legends of the creation, its conception, however much afterwards overlaid, of a great Allfadir, its belief in the final triumph of good over evil, its legends of a conflict between Baldr, the lord of light and life, and the goddess of death,

[1] *The Religions before Christ*, by Pressensé, p. 190.

[2] Kurtz's *Church History*, p. 287.

[3] See the observation of Kurtz, *Church History*, p. 286.

CHAP. XIX. in its hope of an ultimate restoration of all things, there may have been scattered seeds which Christianity might quicken and make fruitful, yet it must be conceded that there were few amongst the missionaries of this period, who could, even if they had been willing, have seen the matter in this light. That largeness of heart, that more than human wisdom which suggested to the great Apostle of the Gentiles, when he stood on Mars' Hill, to take his smooth stone out of the Athenian's own brook, as Chrysostom puts it[1], and to find a common ground between himself and them, are qualities rare at all times, and which it would be folly to look for in the period with which we are concerned. This predisposition towards Christianity, this recognition of it as adapted to man's deepest needs, manifested itself, as Kurtz well remarks, "chiefly after Christianity had gained an entrance by other instrumentality among the Teutonic races, and only appeared fully at the time of the Reformation[2]."

Meanwhile, in conformity with the plan recommended by the great Augustine, the teaching of the Mediæval missionaries, from first to last, was eminently *objective*. It dealt mainly and simply with the great *facts* of Christianity; with the incarnation of the Saviour, His life, His death, His resurrection, His ascension, His future coming, and then proceeded to treat of the good works which ought to flow from the vital reception of the Christian doctrines. To the worshippers of the powers of nature, and especially *St Patrick.* the sun, we saw how the apostle of Ireland proclaimed the existence of one God, the Creator of all things, and then went on to dwell upon the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, Who is the *true Sun*, of Whom, and by Whom, and to Whom are *Augustine.* all things[3]. Similarly we saw how Augustine[4] proclaimed

[1] S. Chrysost. *Op.* Ed. Ben. III. 68.
[2] Kurtz, p. 286.
[3] See above, Chap. III. pp. 68, 69.
[4] See Chap. V. pp. 101, 102.

to the royal worshipper of Odin and Thor in Kent the unity of God, and then proceeded to treat of the person and work of His only-begotten Son. The arguments of Oswiu[1] in his exhortations to Sigebert, king of Essex, are directed in the strain of the old Hebrew prophets mainly against the absurdities[2] of idolatry, and the folly of a system which taught the worship of deities made by human hands, "that might be broken, or burnt, or trodden underfoot," that have eyes and see not, feet and walk not, hands and handle not. From the worship of such gods he bids his royal brother turn to the true God, the Creator of all things, Who is invisible, omnipotent, eternal, Who will judge the world with righteousness, and reward the good with eternal life. In the case, indeed, of Coifi[3], during the mission of Paulinus in Northumbria, we have an instance of one actuated by low motives, who regarded the new faith as worthy of a trial like the systems of heathenism, and deserving of instant reception if it produced those temporal advantages which the speaker had vainly sought from the national gods. But at this very conference his speech is counterbalanced by that of the thane[4] on the briefness and uncertainty of life, which certainly struck a deeper chord, and while it bears all the marks of sincerity, is suggestive of those "deep searchings of heart" respecting the awful mystery of death, which have haunted men in every age. The utterer of this parable was, probably, a representative of many in those times, who were not only dissatisfied with wooden divinities, but were ready to embrace heartily any religion which could proclaim to them glad tidings of great

Oswiu.

Coifi.

Parable of the thane.

[1] Bede, III. 22. Above, Chap. VI. p. 124.

[2] It is on this point that the Hebrew prophets expatiate so constantly. Compare the language of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 37, 38; of Elijah in 1 Kings xviii. 21—29; of the Psalmist, Ps. cxv. 4—8, cxxxv. 15—18; of Isaiah, xli. 23, 24, 29, xlv. 9—11, 15—20; of Jeremiah, li. 17, 18; of Habakkuk, ii. 18, 19.

[3] Chap. V. p. 112.

[4] Chap. V. p. 113. His "Parable" may be compared with the Anglo-Saxon poem on the last home of man, the grave, cited in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, III. 339.

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joy, and assure them of a life beyond the grave, and the glory of a world to come.

Sermons of Eligius.

From the sermons of Eligius we have already offered some quotations, which sufficiently illustrate the same objective method of preaching, and the earnest way in which he sought to reclaim his flock from heathen errors. The

Gallus.

sermon of Gallus on the occasion of the consecration of his disciple John to the see of Constance is hardly a missionary sermon, but it is interesting as testifying to his very intimate acquaintance with the Old Testament History, and the events in the Saviour's life. The knowledge displayed by this Irish missionary is certainly in advance of that which is popularly ascribed to the period in which he lived; and if he succeeded in reproducing in the minds of his disciples similar acquaintance with the teaching of Holy Writ, their labours could not have been entirely thrown away on the people to whom they preached. The correspondence[1] of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, with his friend and fellow-countryman Boniface, is particularly deserving of notice, as illustrating the way in which he would have him preach the word to their Teutonic kinsmen, and reclaim them from their heathen superstitions to the true God. To this correspondence we have already drawn attention, and now would allude to it at somewhat greater length[2].

Correspondence of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, with Boniface.

The bishop commences with words of encouragement and sympathy with the great work, which the missionary had undertaken, and the duty and privilege of aiding him by advice and counsel in dealing with Teutonic errors.

[1] In these letters we often find Boniface sending presents to his friends in England in return for books collected for him out of the monastic libraries: thus to one he sends prepared skins, to Daniel, bishop of Winchester, a fur to keep his feet warm, to Ethelbald a hawk, two falcons, two bucklers, two lances, to his queen an ivory comb, and a looking-glass of silver.

[2] The letter appears to have been written about the year 724, when Boniface had achieved no inconsiderable success in Thuringia. Migne's *Patrologia*, sæc. VIII. p. 707.

He then deprecates any violent and useless declamation against the native superstitions[1], and would rather that he put such questions, from time to time, as would tend to suggest the contradictions which they involved, especially in relation to the genealogy of the gods. "They will admit," he writes, "that the gods they worship had a beginning, that there was a time when they were not; ask them, then, whether they consider the world also to have had a beginning, or whether it has always existed without any beginning. If it had a beginning, who created it? By the world I do not mean the merely visible parts of creation, such as the heaven and the earth, but those invisible and infinite regions, in the existence of which they themselves believe. If, then, they assert that this world has always existed without any beginning, strive to convince them of the folly of such an opinion by proof and argument.

Contradictions of heathenism.

"Then, again, inquire who governed and sustained the world before the birth of those gods in whom they believe? By what means were they able to gain a supremacy of power over a universe which had existed from all time before they ever were known? And whence, how, and when was the first God or goddess born? Are more deities still in process of generation? If not, why and when did this law of celestial increase come to an end? Ask them, again, whether amidst the multitude of powerful deities there is not danger of failing to discover the *most* powerful, and thus offending him? Why, in fact, are these gods worshipped? For the sake of present and temporal, or future and eternal happiness? If the former, in what respect are the heathens happier than the Christians?

Genealogies of the heathen gods.

"What, again, is the import of their sacrifices? If

[1] Conformably to the policy suggested to Augustine by Gregory the Great. See above, Chap. v. p. 104. In one of his letters to friends in England, Boniface requests a copy of the questions of Augustine, and the replies of Gregory. Ozanam, p. 182.

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Why do they offer sacrifice?

the gods are all-powerful, what advantage do they bestow on them thereby? Is there not a contradiction in the idea of all-sufficient deities needing anything from their worshippers? If, on the other hand, they do not need them, then why attempt to appease them with so many and such costly sacrifices, which must after all be superfluous? Such and similar questions I would have thee put to them, not, remember, in the way of taunt or mockery, which will only irritate, but kindly and with gentleness: then, after a while, compare their superstitions with the Christian doctrines, and touch upon the latter judiciously, so that the people may be not exasperated against thee, but ashamed of the foolish errors in which they are entangled, and may not fancy that we are ignorant of their nefarious rites and fabulous stories.

Why has their worship declined?

"There is another point to which thou mayest direct their attention. They say their gods are omnipotent, beneficent, and just, that they can not only reward those who fear, but punish those who despise them. If they can both punish and reward in this world, why do they spare the Christians, who throughout all the world are turning their backs on their worship and throwing down their temples? Why are the Christians allowed to inherit all the pleasant and fertile portions of the earth, the lands of the vine and the olive, while the heathen are constrained to put up with the dreariest and most inhospitable regions[1], where, as if banished to a last stronghold, their gods exercise a mere shadow of authority. Tell them of the strides which Christianity has made throughout the world, of the authority it has gained, while they are but a handful persisting obstinately in exploded errors. If they plead

[1] Gibbon remarks (IV. 325) that, at the date of this Epistle, the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might well have retorted this argument against the Christians. See, however, St Augustine *de Catechizandis Rudibus*, 26.

that, nevertheless, their deities have a rightful *claim* to universal worship, remind them that once they *did* enjoy unlimited sway, and ask how it is that all this has vanished before the coming of Christ the true Omnipotent Creator, by whose teaching the world has been illumined, by whose life and death it has been reconciled to God?" CHAP. XIX.

If from this prudent advice of the bishop of Winchester we turn to such sermons of Boniface as still remain, we have proof that he desired something far more real than the superficial form of Christianity we are wont to impute to this period. Of the first of his fifteen sermons, which have been preserved[1], the subject is the Right Faith, in which he expounds the doctrine of the Trinity, the relation of Baptism to the remission of sins, the Resurrection of the dead, the future Judgment, and the necessity of Repentance. The second, preached on Christmas Day, is concerned with the Creation of man, the circumstances of his Fall, the Promise of a Saviour, His first Advent, and the story of Bethlehem. The third has for its subject the "two-fold operation of justification;" the fourth, the "Eight Beatitudes;" the fifth, "Faith and the works of Love;" the sixth, "Deadly Sins and the chief Commandments of God," amongst the former of which are enumerated the chief heathen practices then rife in the country; the seventh, eighth, and ninth, are occupied with an amplification of the same points. The succeeding two are mainly concerned with further explanations of man's original state, his Fall, the Redemption wrought by Christ, His Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection, the hope of the world to come, and the necessity for preparation for the day of Judgment, by leading a pure and holy life. The subject of the twelfth and thirteenth is an explanation of the purport and necessity for observing the Lenten fast, while the fourteenth is an Easter sermon. The last may probably have been preached on the occasion

Sermons of Boniface.

Serm. I.

Serm. II.

Serm. III.

Serm. IV.

Serm. V. VI.

Serm. VII. VIII. IX.

Serm. X. XI.

Serm. XII. XIII.

Serm. XIV.

[1] See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, sæc. VIII. p. 813.

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Serm. XV. Baptismal Sermon.

of the celebration of the baptismal rit
simple missionary character of the
begins, "my brethren, and consider
was ye renounced at your baptism.
devil, and all his works, and pomps[1].
of the devil? They are pride, idola
backbiting, lying, perjury, hatred, v
adultery, theft, drunkenness, sorcery,
to amulets and charms. These and
works of the devil, and all such ye
baptism, and, as the Apostle saith, '
things are worthy of death, and shall

Renunciation.

kingdom of heaven.' But because we
God's mercy ye renounce all these si
therefore, that ye may deserve to obt
you, brethren beloved, to remember wh
God Almighty.

Faith.

"For ye promised to believe in Go
Jesus Christ His Son, and in the Hol
Almighty in a perfect Trinity.

Obedience.

"These are the commandments of G
to observe and keep: ye must love the
have professed your belief, with all yo
and strength. Be ye patient, tenderhe
and pure. Teach your children to lo
household in like manner. Reconcile
variance. Let him that judges give ri
let him not receive bribes, for bribes bli
the wise.

Christian practice.

"Observe the Lord's Day, assemble yc
and there pray, not making vain repeti
according to your means, for as wate
flame, so almsgiving blotteth out sin. C
visit the sick, minister to widows and o

[1] For the renunciation formula at baptis

to the Church, and what ye would not men should do unto you, that do ye not unto them. Fear God, and Him only. Servants, be obedient unto your masters, and maintain the rights of your master amongst your fellow-servants. Learn diligently the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and teach them to your children, and to those for whom ye stood sponsors at their baptism. Practise fasting, love righteousness, resist the devil, receive the Eucharist at the stated seasons. These, and such like, are the commands that God bade ye do and keep. CHAP. XIX.

The future Judgment.

"Believe that Christ will come, that there will be a resurrection of the body, and a general judgment of mankind. Then the wicked will be separated from the good, and the one will go into eternal fire, the other into eternal bliss, and they shall enjoy everlasting life with God without any more death, light without darkness, health without sickness, happiness without fear, joy without sorrow; there shall be peace for evermore, and the righteous shall shine forth as the sun, for '*eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things God hath prepared for them that love Him.*'"

Alcuin's correspondence with Charlemagne.

Such was the missionary instruction which the apostle of Germany imparted to his flock[1]. Further information on the same point is supplied in the correspondence of Alcuin with the Emperor Charlemagne, who had entrusted a mission amongst the Avars to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg[2]. Congratulating the Emperor on his success, and the prospect of the speedy spread of the faith, he impresses upon him the necessity of due attention to public preaching, and an orderly celebration of baptism[3]. A mere external

[1] See Ozanam, p. 185.

[2] Einhardi *Annales*, at the year 796.

[3] Compare Ep. XXXVII. A.D. 796: Ad Dominum Regem, "de subjectione Hunnorum, et qualiter docendi sint in fide, et quis ordo sit servandus." Migne, *Patrologia*, sæc. IX. p. 187. Neander, V. 113.

CHAP. XIX.

Order of Christian instruction.

washing of the body, he declares, will avail nothing, un the mind has first duly received the rudiments of Christian faith. "The Apostolic Order," he observes, first to teach all nations, then is to follow the adminis tion of baptism, and further instruction in Christian du Therefore in teaching those of riper years, that order shc be strictly maintained, which the blessed Augustine[1] laid down in his treatise on this special subject.

i. "First, a man ought to be instructed in the imn tality of the soul, in the future life, its retribution of g and evil, and the eternal duration of both conditions.

ii. "Secondly, he ought to be taught for what cri and sins he will be condemned to suffer with the d everlasting punishment, and for what good and benefi actions he will enjoy eternal glory with Christ.

iii. "Thirdly, he ought most diligently to be instruc in the doctrine of the Trinity, in the advent of the Savi for the salvation of mankind, in His life, and passi His resurrection, ascension, and future coming to judge world. Strengthened and thoroughly instructed in t faith, let him be baptized, and afterwards let the prece of the Gospel be further unfolded by public preaching, he attain to the measure of the stature of a perfect man, become a worthy habitation of the Holy Ghost[2]."

In another letter, after exhorting the emperor to p vide competent instructors for his newly-conquered subje he remarks that "they ought to follow the example of apostles in preaching the Word of God; for they at beginning were wont to feed their hearers with milk, t is, gentle precepts, even as the Apostle Paul saith, 'And

[1] Augustine *de Catechizandis Rudibus*, Op. Ed. Bened. v. 451 sq. Compare also the letter of Pope Boniface to king Edwin, A.D. 625, Bede, II. 11.

[2] A similar course of instruction is said to have been adopted by of the Greek missionaries sent Vladimir, the Russian Prince, 987. See Grant's *Bampton Lectu Appendix*, p. 408.

brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able[1].' And thereby that great Apostle of the whole world, Christ speaking in him, signified that newly converted tribes ought to be nourished with mild precepts, like as children are with milk, lest if austerer precepts be taught, their weak mind should reject what it drinks. Whence also the Lord Jesus Christ Himself in the Gospel replied to those asking Him why His disciples fasted not, 'Men put not new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved[2].' For, as the blessed Jerome saith, the virgin purity of the soul which has never been contaminated with former vice is very different from that which has been long in bondage to foul lusts and passions." CHAP. XIX.

Again, writing to Arno himself, who had requested information as to the right method of instructing converts from heathenism, he insists even more strongly on the worthlessness of baptism without faith and conviction. "In this sacrament," he writes, "there are three visible and three invisible things. The visible things are the priest, the person to be baptized, and the water; the invisible are the Spirit, the soul, and faith. The three visible things effect nothing externally, if the three invisible have no internal operation. The priest washes the body with water, the Spirit justifies the soul by faith. He that will be baptized must offer his body to the mystery of the sacred washing, and his mind to the voluntary reception of the Catholic Faith. These points ought a teacher *Letter to Arno.*

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.

[2] Matt. ix. 17. "Qui sunt utres veteres, nisi qui in gentilitatis erroribus obduraverunt? Quibus si in initio fidei novæ prædicationis præcepta tradideris, rumpuntur, et ad veteres consuetudines perfidiæ revolvuntur."

CHAP. XIX. to consider most diligently if he desire the salvation of neophyte, and he must beware of slothfully or carele celebrating so great a sacrament."

The opinions Alcuin here puts forth were, doubtl those which, in his school at York, he imparted to men Alubert and Liudger[1], and they would naturally act u them in their missionary operations. They, at any r tend to show that they were men, who did not regard baptismal rite as a mere *opus operatum*, and did not scr to inveigh against the tendency to identify conquest conversion.

iii. *Absence of any vernacular literature.*

iii. The permanent influence, however, of this mod instruction must have been materially weakened, not o by the troubled circumstances of the times, and the c stant wars, but also, and not the least, by the absenc vernacular translations of the Scriptures and the Litu In every country evangelized by the missionaries f Rome, and, therefore, from the docile Anglo-Saxon ki doms, we cannot but have observed their anxiety to re for the Scriptures and the Liturgy the Latin languag the old Latin empire. They seem to have shrunk w horror from suffering the barbarous tongues of the ferent races to find a place in the sacred services of Church. It is with perplexity and misgiving that think of Augustine at the court of Ethelbert, or bis Otho at Pyritz, addressing their hearers through "the fr mediation of an interpreter." It is easier to imagine l Boniface and his disciples found access to the hearts of people of Hessia and Thuringia. They came forth f "the first Teutonic Church, which remained Teuto and with the persuasive eloquence of their own ton could announce to their Teutonic brethren "the wonde works of God," and exhort them to turn to the living

[1] See above, Chap. x. p. 209.

[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, VI. 529. Ozanam, 167.

true God. And in their ability to do this we are inclined to find one of the chief causes of their rapid success. Yet it never seems to have struck them, as it did Ulphilas, and Cyril, and Methodius, and other missionaries of the Eastern Church, that one of the most important requisites for permanent success was the introduction of the Scriptures and the Liturgy, or at least portions of both, in the vernacular language of their converts. CHAP. XIX.

We must be careful, indeed, not to impute to the first half of the period we have surveyed, what more truly distinguishes the latter. The teaching of the seventh and eighth centuries on this point was not that of the fifteenth. The force of custom and the long practice of the Church had not stiffened a habit into an article of faith. In the Anglo-Saxon Church the mother-tongue was never entirely banished from the most sacred services. The Synod of Cloveshoo (A. D. 747) enacted in its tenth Canon, that the priest should be able to translate and explain in the native language the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Liturgical forms used at Baptism, and at the celebration of the mass[1]. This Council was held in the year after Archbishop Cuthbert received the letter from Boniface, to which we have before alluded, and in which he informs him of his own plans for the successful organization of the German Church. Subsequently we find a Canon of Egbert[2] requiring that on

The mother-tongue never entirely banished from the Anglo-Saxon services.

[1] Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 248: "Ut presbyteri omne sui gradus officium legitimo ritu per omnia discant exhibere posse, deinde ut Symbolum Fidei ac dominicam Orationem, sed et sacrosancta quoque verba quæ in Missæ celebratione, et officio baptismi solemniter dicuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua qui nesciant, discant; necnon et ipsa sacramenta quæ in missa ac baptismate, vel in aliis Ecclesiasticis officiis visibiliter conficiuntur, quid spiritualiter significent, et discere studeant." See Joyce's *Sacred Synods*, p. 191; Johnson's *English Canons*, I. 247.

[2] *Excerptiones Egberti Archiep. Ebor.* c. III. "Ut omnibus festis et diebus Dominicis, unusquisque Sacerdos Evangelium Christi prædicet populo." Again, in the letter of Bede to Egbert, we find him exhorting that prelate, "Hoc præ cæteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam quæ apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem quam sancti Evangelii nos Scriptura edocet, *omnium* qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriæ radi-

CHAP. XIX.

each Sunday and festival the priest should expound Gospel to all committed to his charge, while the wed form, as Lappenberg observes, was no doubt in An Saxon, and "its hearty sound and simple sterling stance are preserved in the English ritual to the pre day."

Early versions of parts of the Bible.

Ulphilas.

Aldhelm.

Bede.

Alfred.

Cædmon. obiit circ. 680.

Numerous versions, again, of various portions of Scriptures were in existence. What Ulphilas accompli for the Goths we have already seen, and in our island, a former pupil of Adrian, abbot of Canterb the celebrated bishop Aldhelm[1], gave his countrymen earliest Saxon Psalter; the venerable Bede, who was while Wilfrid was evangelizing Sussex, translated at the Gospel of St John; King Alfred some portion o Psalms; while Cædmon had already paraphrased i metrical form the chief parts of the Sacred History. has told us the interesting tale how the Northumbrian was bidden by an angel in his dreams to sing "the orig things," and how the reeve of Whitby and the abbess o convent bade him enter the monastery and exercise his "He sang," says Bede, "of the creation of the world the origin of the human race, and the whole histor Genesis; of the departure of Israel from Egypt, and t entry into the land of promise; of the incarnation, death, resurrection and ascension of the Saviour; coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the stles." He first taught his countrymen to think of Great Allfather enthroned in majesty ineffable, surrou by ten thousand times ten thousand angels, who pay homage to the Eternal Son. He taught them how of

citus infigere cures. Et quidem omnes qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt, etiam hæc optimè didicisse certissimum est: sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriæ tantum linguæ notitiam habent, hæc ipsa *sua lingua* dicere, ac sedulo deca facito." *Ep. ad Ecberctum*, ed. sey, p. 334.

[1] Hardwick, 96 *n.* Churton's *Ch.* 133.

celestial host, one, filled with pride, fell from his high estate, and in his fall dragged down myriads of other spirits, who thenceforth became the ceaseless foes of the human family[1]; how one of these, "coiling as a serpent round the tree," deceived our first parents, and persuaded them to eat the "unholy fruit," and then flew in vindictive triumph to cheer Satan "in the swart hell, bound by the clasping of rings." The rude Saxon had heard how the goddess of death had conquered Baldr, but Cædmon could announce more joyous news, how the Redeemer, after suffering death, had descended into Hades, and proclaimed His triumph over "him that had the power of death[2]."

Again, in the various continental Churches of the Carlovingian age, we do not trace that anxiety to banish the popular tongue from the public services, which afterwards dictated its entire withdrawal. The conqueror at Tolbiac and his Merovingian successors, Charlemagne and his immediate descendants, were Teutons, and in their courts the German language was to be heard. A Capitulary, dated from Frankfort-on-the-Maine, A.D. 794, pronounces it a foolish idea, that "God is to be worshipped or addressed only in three languages, for He may be addressed in every tongue, and in every tongue may He be heard[3]." The Councils of Tours, in A.D. 813[4], and of Mayence, in 817, enact that the bishops be diligent in preaching throughout their dioceses, and that they "study to expound the homilies of the Fathers in the rustic Roman or in Theotisc or Deutsch, so that all the people may understand." Thirty years later we find an archbishop of Tours[5] recommending

[1] Cædmon's *Paraphrase*, ed. Thorpe, 47. Bede, IV. c. 24.

[2] Ibid. p. 289.

[3] "Ut nullus credat quod non nisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit: quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur, et homo exauditur, si justa petierit." Gieseler, II. 265, *n.* 29.

[4] Gieseler, II. 264, *n.* 24. Hardwick's *Middle Age*, p. 95 *n.* Palgrave's *Normandy and England*, I. 65.

[5] Herard, archbp. of Tours, A.D. 858. Gieseler, II. 265, *n.* 28. Hardwick, 206 *n.*

CHAP. XIX.

that the main events in the Saviour's history, His bi death, resurrection, the coming of the Holy Ghost, the fu judgment, the necessity for good works, and the import of the sacraments, should form the subject of the pa priest's expositions. About the same time we find Hi mar of Rheims requiring of his clergy that, in additio committing to memory certain formulæ and services of Church, they should be able to expound the Lord's Pra the Apostles' Creed, and that of St Athanasius, as also f homilies of Gregory the Great[1]. Town and village sch were, as all know, extensively encouraged in the reig Charlemagne and his successors; but the knowledge of Paternoster and the Creed was too often the limit which the teacher was obliged to be content, and even had to be enforced by fines and punishment[2]. Copie the Scriptures, or even parts of them, were comparati scarce, especially among the country clergy, and were fined to them. From versions, however, of some port of the Bible, poetic paraphrases, and vernacular hymns, people could here and there pick up stray crumbs of kn ledge. Louis-le-Débonnaire especially encouraged the e tions of a Saxon husbandman, another Cædmon, and metrical version of the Scriptures, called the *Heli* acquired great popularity[3]. Forty years later another I mony, or *Paraphrase of the Gospels*, was put forth Ottfried[4], a monk of Weissenburg, and in the eleve century the stock of vernacular literature was increased the addition of a German paraphrase of the Psalms, dr up by Notker Labro, a monk of St Gall, and a Ger translation and exposition of Solomon's Song, by Willi master of the cathedral-school at Bamberg[5].

[1] Hincmar, archbp. of Rheims, Capitula, A.D. 852. Gieseler, II. 263, *n.* 23.

[2] Kurtz, *Ch. History*, § 118, 1. Gieseler, II. 265, *n.* 30. For the influence of the Irish schools, see Neander, VI. 161.

[3] Hardwick, 208. Palgrave's *mandy and England*, I. 188.

[4] A.D. 868. Gieseler, II. 266

[5] Hardwick, 209 *n.* Kurtz,

Vernacular translations regarded with suspicion.

But as time rolled on, vernacular translations of the Bible or the Liturgy were regarded with more and more suspicion. We saw with what difficulty Methodius succeeded in persuading Pope John VIII. to look with a friendly eye on the vernacular Liturgy he had drawn up for his Slavonic converts[1]. It was only after a struggle, that the Pontiff came to the conclusion that God had made other languages besides the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. But what he conceded with the proviso that the Mass should be celebrated in one of the languages of the Church, was cancelled by a later Pope, Gregory VII. Nothing could induce him to yield to the earnest entreaties of Duke Wratislav, in the year 1080, and sanction the Slavonic Liturgy by similar approval. He allowed, indeed, that the concession had once been made, but "it was," he declared, "only to serve a temporary emergency, and could be no adequate precedent with himself; as to a vernacular edition of the Scriptures, that was impossible; it was not the will of God that the sacred Word should be everywhere displayed, lest it should be held in contempt, and give rise to error." By this time the Gospel, now always read in Latin, was fast becoming a sealed book to the bulk of worshippers in the West, and the Latin Service a succession of unmeaning sounds. It needs but little reflection to see how formidable an obstacle to any real and permanent reception of the Christian faith must have been created by this persistence in creating an exclusive hierarchical language. "Our own sense and experience teach us," writes Professor Stanley[2], "what barriers this single cause must have created in many countries between the conquerors and the conquered, between the educated and the vulgar, above all, between the clergy and the laity. The ill effects of the tardy translation of our own Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh and Irish

Evil effects to missionary success.

[1] Above, Chap. XIII. p. 286.

[2] *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 309.



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nacular litur

Miracle-Plays and Mysteries.

he eye of the ill-instructed mass, by representations of
ı scenes in the Gospel-history as the Infancy, the
sion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. It is not dif-
lt to enter into the feelings of the Prince-Archbishop of
:burg, who, in his manifesto respecting the Ammergau *The Ammergau mystery.*
ıtery, in the year 1779, viewed with misgiving "the
ture of sacred and profane," "the ludicrous and disa-
:able effect of the bad acting of the more serious actors,
f the intentional buffooneries of others," "the distraction
he minds of the lower orders from the more edifying
les of instruction by sermons, church-services, and re-
ıls." Still we must be careful to avoid the language
ndiscriminate censure. The "religious mystery" can
m the patronage of Gregory Nazianzen, and the
roval of Luther, who is reported to have said, "Such
:tacles often do more good, and produce more impres-
, than sermons." It has been sanctioned also by Lu-
an bishops of the Church of Denmark and Sweden, as
gitimate method of imparting instruction. The recorded
ression made upon a cultivated mind by the represen-
ɔn of the Ammergau Mystery, in 1860[1], is a sufficient
ɔf of its power to kindle the emotions of an enwrapped
ience; and doubtless, as Dean Milman remarks, "the
skeletons of these Latin Mysteries which have come
n to us, can give no notion of what they were when
e, with all their august, impressive, enthralling ac-
ories, and their simple, unreasoning, but profoundly
ated hearers[2]." It cannot, however, be a matter of
ɔrise that the temptation to exceed the bounds of
leration and even decency was soon sufficient to ren-
their utility a matter of great question, and to call
n the severest denunciations of Popes and Councils. It
ld have been well if these very excesses had suggested

[1] See A. P. S. in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Oct. 1860, p. 464.
[2] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, VI. 496.

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to these high authorities the inquiry, whether they were not themselves causing "offences to come," by hiding the key of knowledge, and retaining in their most sacred services a language which, to the majority of the hearers, was simply unintelligible.

iv. *The missionaries and heathenism.*

iv. And here a few remarks on the policy of the missionaries as regards heathenism may not be out of place, especially as they have sometimes been accused of too great accommodation to the weaknesses and scruples of their pagan converts. A review of the efforts made during this period does not tend to substantiate the charge at least against the missionaries themselves. Again and again we have seen them hewing down the images, profaning the temples, and protesting with vehemence against sorcery, witchcraft, and other heathen practices. The apostle of Ireland did not, as we saw, spare the great object of Celtic worship; his countrymen, Columbanus and Gallus, provoked the grievous wrath of the Suevians by their hostility to Thor and Odin; Willibrord, at the peril of his life, polluted the sacred fountains of Fosites-land; Boniface risked not only personal safety but all his influence over the people of Hesse by hewing down the sacred oak of Geismar; the address of Lebuin to the Saxon assembly did not betray one easily "shaken by the wind;" Bogoris flung away his idols at the first request of Methodius; Vladimir flogged the huge image of Peroun, and flung it into the waters of the Dnieper before the face of his people; Olaf and Thangbrand overthrew the monuments of Scandinavian idolatry with a zeal worthy of a Jehu; Bishop Otho in Pomerania insisted, in spite of imminent danger to himself, on destroying various Slavonic temples. As far as such external protests against idolatry could avail, their missionary zeal did not err on the side of laxity. It cannot be said that there was any accommodation here to the views of the

heathens, or anything like the policy of the unworthy followers of Xavier, in India[1]. CHAP. XIX.

Advice of Gregory to Augustine.

In several cases, however, the advice of Gregory the Great to Augustine appears to have been mainly followed, at least by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. From the letter of that Pope to Mellitus[2] it seems that the question of the destruction of the heathen temples had caused him considerable anxiety, and had long occupied his thoughts. The conclusion to which he at last came, was, that instead of being destroyed, they should be "cleansed from heathen pollution by being sprinkled with holy water," and consecrated to Christian purposes by the erection of the Christian altar, and the "deposition of relics of the saints." Whatever may be the reason of the strange contrast between the policy advocated in this letter and in that addressed to Ethelbert[3], it is certain that Gregory was wisely anxious to facilitate the transition from heathenism to Christianity. In this spirit, therefore, he advised Augustine to deal cautiously with the heathen festivals which were celebrated in or near the temples; he would not have them abolished altogether, but suggested that on the anniversaries of the Martyrs, whose relics had been placed in the temples now converted into churches, booths should be erected, and the people permitted to celebrate their feasts in honour not of the old pagan deities, but of the True God, the Giver of all good. Gregory, whose spirit is said to have yearned towards the old heathen sages who had died without hearing of the work of Christ[4], considered that he had found a precedent for the advice he now gave in the divine system of educating the Jewish people after their departure from

[1] Sir E. Tennant's *Ceylon*, p. 17. Hardwick's *Reformation*, p. 443.

[2] *Epp. Greg.* Lib. XI. 76. Bede, I. 30: "*Diu* mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi."

[3] Bede, I. 32.

[4] Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 7.

CHAP. XIX.

Egypt. "They had been wont," he remarks, "to sacrifi false gods, they were not forbidden now altogethe abstain from offering sacrifice. The object only of t worship was changed, and the same animals they had l wont to sacrifice to idols, they now sacrificed in hono the Lord their God."

The reasons for his advice.

Grant that he may have regarded the Jewish sacri system from far too low a point of view, still in the cumstances of the Anglo-Saxons just emerging heathenism, there was much to remind him of the Je nation during its long contact with idolatry in Eg The latter unfitted, as the very genius of their lang attests[1], for abstract thought or metaphysical speculat absolutely required material symbols, and with a Boo Symbols they were mercifully provided. The same r of proceeding Gregory was of opinion was requisite in case of the Anglo-Saxon converts, and if existing cer nies could only be exalted and purified, a gradual a might be supplied towards understanding higher tru Where, as in England, and probably on the Conti every Mark had its religious establishment[3], the Medi missionaries, themselves in many cases but lately conve may be pardoned for the natural desire to make as r as possible of the *religio loci*, and to avail themselv far as it was practicable, of old associations. Thu England the temple of Ethelbert was converted int Church of St Pancras[4], and the sites granted by the king for St Paul's in London, and St Peter's in W minster, had both before been places of heathen wo

[1] Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, I. 101. Wiseman's *Lectures*, I. 139.

[2] "Duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is, qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus, non autem saltibus, elevatur." Bede, I. 30.

[3] Kemble's *Saxons in Engla* 424.

[4] Stanley's *Memorials of bury*, p. 22. The Pantheon dicated to All Saints about fou after Gregory's death.

even as at Rome the statues of the Cæsars had vanished from the apsis of the basilica, and given place to the image of the Son of Man[1].

Difficulty of eradicating old superstitions.

Architectural reasons may very probably have prevented in many cases a compliance with Gregory's advice, but its spirit was obeyed, wherever the Teutonic missionary went forth to evangelize Teutons. And independently of the sound principle which was thus taught, "that the evil spirit can be cast out of institutions without destroying them," the early missionaries must have found that it is easy to destroy the image or to fling it into the stream, but very hard to extirpate a faith, and eradicate time-honoured superstitions. They to whom they preached were, as we have already seen, worshippers of all above them and around them; in the skies, the woods, the waters, they found their oracles and sacred books; they revelled in spirits of the grove and of the fountain, of the lake, and of the hill; they believed devoutly in divinations, and presages, and lots. Imagine, then, one who from his earliest years, had lived and moved in the atmosphere of a faith like this, which identified itself with all the associations of nature and the world around, which taught him to hear voices from another world in the forest roaring round his cottage in the wintry night, or on the lake where he flung his net[2], —imagine such an one, out of deference to the will of his chief, or the stern command of the conqueror, in an age of "implicit, childlike, trusting, fearing, rejoicing faith,"—exchanging his early creed for that of the Christian, and can we wonder that the old ideas long retained their sway, or that Councils were obliged to denounce, and the missionary to inveigh against lingering traces of well-worship, and tree-worship, against divination, and witchcraft[3]?

[1] Ranke's *Popes*, I. 5.
[2] Compare Chap. VII. p. 147.
[3] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 364, 365. Thorpe's *N. Mythology*, I. 256. Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*, Introd. p. lxxxi.



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nextricably united the name of a Saxon goddess with he most joyous of the Christian festivals; names which ave survived all the intervening changes of thought and eling, and remain to the present day the undying memo- ials of the period of twilight between heathendom and hristianity.

v. Our retrospect has, from the nature of the case, been hiefly concerned with the more legitimate efforts made uring the earlier period of the Middle Ages to propa- ate the Gospel. But during the later period we no- iced how other agencies besides the holy lives and eloquent ongues of devoted men, besides the monastic colony and he missionary school, were employed to complete the circle f European Christendom. We saw how the genuine issionary spirit became tinged with fanaticism, and was ucceeded by violent and coercive propagandism.

v. Illegitimate methods of propagating the Gospel.

In its earliest phase we noticed this in the history f Clovis[1]. When that chief rose from the font cleansed f the leprosy of his heathenism, and became the single overeign of the West, who adhered to the creed of Nicæa, e entered with a ferocious zeal on the conquest of the rian Visigoths. The difference of Creed became an easy retext for war, and for the invasion of fertile provinces ith fire and sword. And though the hands of the "Eldest on of the Church" were never free from the stain of lood, though his life was disfigured by the darkest vices, hough he made nothing of cruelly assassinating every chief om whom he apprehended any danger to his family, et his zeal for the Church atoned for all his crimes in he eyes of Catholic prelates. Nowhere have we a more ignal instance of the extent to which religious partizan- hip can obscure the moral perceptions, than in the fact hat Gregory of Tours does not scruple to say of Clovis, hat "God frustrated his enemies daily before him, and

Campaigns of Clovis against the Visigoths.

[1] See above, Chap. II. p. 55.

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increased his realm, because he walked with an upright heart before Him, and did what was pleasing in His eyes[1]."

Clovis, however, must not be judged too harshly. War was the single art in which he excelled, and what kind of troops they were of which he was the leader we can form some idea from the description Sidonius Apollinaris has left of the Merovingian armies. The host he describes as "bareheaded, with masses of long red hair falling between their shoulders, their bodies tightly girt about with raw hides, though naked from the knee downwards, carrying neither sling nor bows nor other missiles except a hatchet and a short pike, to which was strung a barbed harpoon, marching on foot, and protected by no defensive armour[2]." Of the leader of such a host, who there is not the slightest reason for believing was able to read, whose glimmering acquaintance with Christianity was confined to such stray crumbs as he could pick up from converse with his clergy, we must not exact more than from a Dyak or Kaffir chief.

Charlemagne's wars against the Saxons.

The wars of Charlemagne against the Saxons are the subjects of more legitimate censure[3]. That these wars were carried on with relentless severity, that the Saxon territory was invaded from year to year, that on one occasion four thousand five hundred prisoners were beheaded for sharing in an insurrection, that, on another, ten thousand Saxons were forcibly removed from their own country into the older Frankish territory, cannot be denied. Still the peculiarities of Charlemagne's position must not be overlooked. Other causes than the simple lust of conquest promoted these wars[4]. Antipathies of race, and divergences of religious belief lent a peculiar bitterness to the conflict between the Frank and the Saxon. Charle-

[1] Greg. Turon. *Op.* II. 40. Perry's *Franks*, p. 96.

[2] Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*, I. 53.

[3] See above, Chap. X. pp. 215, 216.

[4] See p. 215, *n.*

magne knew well, that if these hardy pirates of the North gained the upper hand, all order and security in Europe would be at an end. At the root of the new civilization, whereof he was the champion, lay the Christian faith. In the Christian Church he felt were the only elements of order, and he had strengthened his own power by the most intimate relations with it. It is no wonder, therefore, that he believed himself bound, as a Christian king, to impose that faith, which alone promised any definite union or concord, on races that still clung to the blood-stained rites of Odinism. "That the alternative, 'Believe or die,' was sometimes proposed by Charlemagne to the Saxons," writes Sir James Stephen, "I shall not dispute. But it is not less true that before these terms were tendered to them, they had again and again rejected his less formidable proposal, 'Be quiet and live.' In form and term, indeed, their election lay between the Gospel and the Sword. In substance and in reality, they had to make their choice between submission and destruction. A long and deplorable experience had already shown that the Frankish people had neither peace nor security to expect for a single year so long as their Saxon neighbours retained their heathen rites, and the ferocious barbarism inseparable from them. Fearful as may be the dilemma, 'submit or perish,' it is that to which every nation, even in our own times, endeavours to reduce a host of invading and desolating foes; nor if we ourselves were exposed to similar inroads, should we offer to our assailants conditions more gentle or less peremptory[1]." These considerations may tend to modify our view of Charlemagne's policy, but the wholesale and indiscriminate mode of administering the rite of baptism on the conclusion of his campaigns, cannot possibly be defended, and drew forth, as we saw, the indignant expostulations of Alcuin, and men of kindred spirit.

Sir James Stephen on Charlemagne's wars.

[1] Lecture I. p. 92.

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Violent efforts of the Norwegian jarls.

The violent efforts of the Norwegian princes t
Christianity as the national faith have a grotesq
their own, which relieves them from the impu
those darker motives which prompted the All
Crusades, and the establishment of the Inquisiti
emotions, which the latter events call forth, are to
to be dwelt upon, and only call for the expr
gratitude that the age which witnessed them h
away without the possibility of recall. As for the
of the Viking, it may be pleaded that, however
unworthy the conceptions he had formed of the
faith, his mode of enforcing his new Creed on h
and hardy subjects was at least straightforward.
believed once in the might of Thor's great hamm
crusher and smasher," and force was the only we
could conceive capable of effecting his purpose.
Inquisition and the Albigensian Crusades present t
the efforts of Hacon and the Olafs present the g
side of the same truth, that acts of violence in th
world are symptoms of weakness, for "we only
religious despotism when we despair of prevailing
suasion." To expect maxims of toleration from a
would indeed be absurd; but the fact that, in spi
violence with which Christianity was introduced
Scandinavian and other kingdoms, the leaven w
able to work mightily, and to do great things
advancement, is surely an encouragement as reg
future of modern missionary efforts. When we ref
long a period even the partial evangelization of
occupied, how slow, how gradual was its progress,
times order seemed to have vanished and chaos
come back to earth, we shall not be impatient fo
diate results of missionary work in modern times.

Whenever the Church effected anything real
ing, it was when she was content to persevere i

of absolute dependence on Him who has promised to be with her "always, even unto the end of the world;" when in the person of a Columba, a Boniface, a Sturmi, an Anskar, a Raymund Lull, she was contented to go forth and sow the seed, and then leave it to do its work, remembering that if "earthly seed is long in springing up, imperishable seed is longer still." Whenever she failed in her efforts, it was when she forgot in Whose strength she went forth, and for Whose glory alone she existed, when she was tempted to resort to other means and to try other expedients than those which her great Head had sanctioned, when instead of patiently leaving the good seed to grow of itself, she strove to hurry its development, and was impatient of small beginnings and weak instruments.

The view from St Martin's Church at Canterbury.

For, if the retrospect of the missionary efforts of the Middle Ages teaches one lesson more than another, it is the value of those "slender wires" on which the greatest events are often hung, and the importance of not despising the day of small things. "Let any one," writes the author of the *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, "sit on the hill of the little church of St Martin at Canterbury, and look on the view which is there spread before his eyes. Immediately below are the towers of the great Abbey of St Augustine, where Christian learning and civilization first struck root in the Anglo-Saxon race; and within which now, after a lapse of many centuries, a new institution has arisen, intended to carry far and wide, to countries of which Gregory and Augustine never heard, the blessings which they gave to us....From Canterbury, the first English Christian city—from Kent, the first English Christian kingdom—has, by degrees, arisen the whole constitution of a Church and State in England, which now binds together the whole British Empire. And from the Christianity here established in England, has

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flowed, by direct consequence, first, the Christi
Germany,—then, after a long interval, of North Ar
and lastly, we may trust, in time, of all India,
Australasia. The view from St Martin's church
one of the most inspiriting that can be found in th
there is none to which I would more willingly ta
one, who doubted whether a small beginning wo
to a great and lasting good,—none which carries
vividly back to the past, or more hopefully forwa
future[1]."

[1] Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 39.

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